National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment---Without Compromise. | EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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Selections.

KENTUCKY STATE CONVENTION.

Debate on Slavery.

WE commence in this No. of the *Standard* a sketch of the debate on the Slavery question in the Kentucky Convention. We condense the report into the smallest possible limits, though its interest and importance should make its length of no consequence to those who are desirous of understanding the position of the question, and the state of public sentiment upon it, in Kentucky. The report we use is that of the *Frankfort* (Ky,) *Commonwealth*.

SLAVERY.

Mr. MERRIWETHER, from the committee on the Revision of the Constitution and Slavery, made the following report:

ARTICLE SEVENTH.

SEC. 1. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners or without paying their owners previous to such emancipation a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated, nor shall they exercise any other or greater power over the after born children of slave mothers than over the slaves then in being.

SEC. 2. They shall have no power to prevent emigrants from this State from bringing with them nor citizens thereof who may derive title by marriage, descent or device, from bringing to this State such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, or any territory thereof, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in Slavery by the laws of this State.

SEC. 3. They shall pass laws to permit the owner of slaves to emancipate them saving the rights of creditors, and preventing them from becoming a charge to any county in this commonwealth. But they shall have no power to pass any law authorizing the emancipation of any slave or slaves, without a provision for their removal from, and against their return to, this State.

SEC. 4. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State as merchandize.

SEC. 5. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State from a foreign country, and to prevent those from being brought into this State, who have been, since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, or may hereafter be imported into any of the United States from a foreign country.

SEC. 6. They shall have full power to pass such laws as may be necessary to oblige the owners of slaves to abstain from all injuries to them, extending to life or limb; and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners.

SEC. 7. They shall pass laws providing that whenever a slave or slaves are executed, a full equivalent in money shall be paid the owner out of a fund to be raised by a special tax on slaves levied for that purpose, and providing that whenever any slave or slaves shall be executed for the destruction of property, a pro rata distribution of the value paid for said slave or slaves shall be made between the owner of such slave or slaves and the owner of the property destroyed.

SEC. 8. They shall have power to provide by law for the removal of all free negroes and mulattoes now in this State.

SEC. 9. They shall pass laws providing that any free negro or mulatto hereafter emigrating to, or being emancipated in, and refusing to leave this State, or having left, shall return and settle within this State, shall be deemed guilty of felony and punished by confinement in the penitentiary thereof.

SEC. 10. In the prosecution of slaves for felony, no inquest by a grand jury shall be necessary, but the proceedings in such prosecutions shall be regulated by law; except, that the General Assembly shall have no power to deprive them of the privilege of an impartial trial by a petit jury.

The Report, with the following Resolution, was referred, to come up at a future day:

6. *Resolved*. That no persons shall henceforth be slaves within this Commonwealth, except such as are now so, and the descendants of the females of them, and such as may be brought to this State by *bona fide* emigrants and the descendants of the females of them, and such as the citizens of Kentucky shall derive title to out of the State by marriage, devise or descent, and the descendants of the females of them.

Afterward amended by the addition of the words:

"Or that shall be brought into the State by *bona fide* purchasers for their own use."

On a following day a debate ensued which we copy entire:

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Chairman: I understand that the sixth resolution is intended to test the sense of the convention upon the propriety of incorporating into the constitution the principles there indicated: and in order that it may be done at once, I will now move to strike out of the resolution all after the word "*Resolved*." I am satisfied in my own mind that we shall not be able to put in this constitution, with any hope of its adoption, any such provision. I am equally satisfied in my own mind, that we shall not be able to put in the constitution any such provision as that indicated by the gentleman from Simpson, (Mr. Clark), yesterday, and that all we can do is to agree upon some general principle, and allow the legislature to exercise a sound discretion upon the subject. When our constitution was framed in 1798, we had the following provision in relation to Slavery:

"The general assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves, without the consent of their owners, or without paying their owners, previous to such emancipation, a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated." And in connection with that subject, in the 12th section of the general provisions of the constitution, we have this further provision, "nor shall any man's property be taken or applied to public use, without the consent of his representatives, and without just compensation being previously made to him."

The convention then based by these two provisions, the foundations of the government on substantial justice, and put it beyond the popular will to take a man's property under the pretence of use without giving him a full and fair compensation. The first proposition, to clear it from all doubt and equivocation, they applied directly to slaves, in which they recognized property. In the further proposition they applied the principle to all property, leaving it to the legislature to control the laws of this government, but forbidding them to invade the rights of property. I trust when we come to form this constitution, that we shall follow that example—that we will reiterate those provisions—that we will take it from the power of the legislature to invade private rights, and that we will reaffirm the principle adopted by those who have gone before us, that private property is not to be invaded, under any pretence, without a fair and just compensation. We have in the present constitution, a further provision as follows:

"They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in Slavery by the laws of this State. They shall pass laws to permit the owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and preventing them from becoming a charge to any county in this commonwealth. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State as merchandize."

Under the latter clause of that provision the act of 1833 was passed, prohibiting the importation of slaves, and the constitutionality of that act was sustained by our appellate tribunals. But in truth it tell almost a dead letter on the statute book. Kentucky was not the best market for slaves. There were more profitable markets—they have not been brought here except under peculiar circumstances; and Kentucky never has been a market for slaves, where they have been made a subject matter of merchandize. And while we have the more profitable business of cotton planting, and sugar making in the Southern States, Kentucky never will be a market for slaves. It is said that the act of 1833 was a concession to the emancipationists, and to some extent it was, for those who then desired emancipation in Kentucky desired to go further.—They were content however with the act of 1833, and the subject was dropped in the legislature for several years. Our citizens upon the Tennessee line, however, became dissatisfied with it. Living upon almost an imaginary line, and desiring to make exchange between one another—the citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee—they found inconvenience arising. The slaves on one side married the slaves on the other, and it became desirable for the convenience of families, that there should be exchanges, and they from time to time petitioned the legislature to repeal this law, and to grant special laws, until leave was granted to all who asked, and though the law of 1833 existed upon the statute book it was no prevention, or if it was a prevention it was evaded by permission of the legislature, or by the act of the citizen.

I voted for the act of 1833, and I voted, too, against its repeal. I should have been content to have had it remain on the statute book, as the indication of the sense of the legislature that they discountenanced the bringing in of slaves here as merchandize; but it was the fate of this law, like all other laws that are against the sense of a large minority of the people, that it did not give peace upon the subject. That was the case, for the agitation continued and was repeated, session after session, and the representatives of the people continued, from time to time, to violate what I consider a great principle in legislation—that is, that the law should bear equally and uniformly on all citizens, and that it should not be a prevention to one, while the legislature gave an exception and license to another. And it is better for a majority to yield the law that gives to a large portion of the citizens disatisfaction, and is a cause of continued agitation, than to hold it at that expense, when, too, they are unable to enforce it, and when the representatives of the people yield to particular exceptions year after year. It was modified or repealed at the last session of the legislature. The minority that for years had been dissatisfied with it and agitated its repeal and procured licenses to violate it, had made themselves the majority.

The repeal of that law has been seized upon by those who favor emancipation in the State of Kentucky, as one step in advance upon the subject of emancipation, and they now seek to place it in the constitution. I do not charge the gentleman from Madison with being an emancipationist, although in this work he is doing their business, and has taken their steps in advance. Suppose that it should be the sense of this convention that slaves should not be brought into Kentucky as merchandize, would they, in view of that powerful, active, and decided minority that is agitated upon this subject, who have procured license from year to year to violate this law, and finally made themselves a majority, and repealed it, be acting wisely and discreetly to place such a provision in the constitution they are about to adopt, and thus add to the office holders, and the spirit of emancipation which now threatens it, that additional force to procure its rejection by the people? for I take it for granted that whatever constitution we shall agree upon we shall present to the people for their approval before we put it into operation.

Mr. Chairman, in forming a constitution as in passing laws, it is the part of wisdom to apply them to the sentiments, the feelings, and the disposition of the people, whose organic law is to be formed, or to the principles upon which the State expects her people to be governed. And though the philosopher in his closet may say this principle or that principle, this law, or that law would be better, we, in applying a constitution to the wants, and necessities, and feelings of the people, are bound to consult them.—Therefore, in forming a constitution, upon this very identical subject, it is important that we should look at the sentiments long entertained, and firmly fixed, of the citizens of Kentucky; and what is against those feelings and sentiments is impracticable. And I say to the gentleman from Madison, it is impracticable to put his proposition into the constitution, with the sentiments of the people of Kentucky in relation to this matter staring him in the face. It is a consideration for us all, not only in regard to this subject but upon others, that are to come before us.

Now I do not intend to go into the question, the abstract question, whether Slavery is an unmitigated curse, or evil, or whether it is an absolute blessing to society. We are not in a condition to judge that question, for we are not clear from the influences which it casts around us. If there was no Slavery in Kentucky, and we were debating whether we would have Slavery, this question would be proper, and the lights of history the experience of other nations, and if you will the sanctions of religion, might fairly be invoked and brought into play, in the consideration of the subject. Slavery exists—it has been sanctioned by law, and by our organic constitution—it is in our midst—and we are to make a constitution in view of those facts. We are not at liberty then, to entertain this question. Though not a religious man, I have examined this subject so far forth as to satisfy my own conscience, that there is no sin in holding slaves under the constitution of Kentucky.—And my reading of the gospel, and understanding of the mission of the Saviour of the world is, that it was not against governments and the existing order of things, as found among the nations of the earth when the tidings were proclaimed, but against the sin of fallen man and for his reformation. Servitude, in one form or another, has existed in society from its earliest period, and judging from the light the history of the past is calculated to shed on the future, it will exist in all time to come. We are served in certain capacities and conditions by our slaves. The good people of Massachusetts are served by white people in the same menial offices, that we are served by our slaves. Massachusetts has about the same population as Kentucky, yet there is a difference in the number of poor sustained by public charity in each State. Taking the number in the county of Jefferson, as an average for each county in the State, we have some three thousand. Look at the statistics as returned by the State of Massachusetts, and it will be found that they had twenty-eight thousand! A wide difference. Here the master takes care of the aged and infirm, and we have a provision in the present constitution, that the legislature shall have the power of enforcing the discharge of the duties of humanity upon the master. I think it would be easy to calculate, when we look at the history of the crowded population of the Old World, and compare it with the history of population in the Slave States, that the mass of human misery, of crime, and degradation, is far greater, in those States with crowded white population, than it ever was or ever will be in the Slave States. I believe that white labor, as it increases, becomes cheaper than slave labor, and I believe the capitalist employs but the best, and leaves the most deficient to charity, the cold hand of charity, and that Massachusetts, with her 28,000 poor, as compared with Kentucky, so far as regards those who serve and those who do not serve, has a greater mass of human misery, degradation and crime than we have in Kentucky, or ever can have under the existing order of things. So that looking at things as they are, and as in all human probability, they will be, we shall have no cause to reproach ourselves on the ground of humanity, or as having failed to advance the interests of society if we suffer this institution to remain as it has existed.

Mr. Chairman: There is an obligation resting upon every owner of a slave, that all sensible, correct feeling men well understand. The slaves are born under our roof, reared with our children, and work in the same field and at the same labor that we do. They are parts of the same household, and if they are manumitted where are they to go? Some gentlemen would send them to the coast of Africa. I have looked into the matter and I have satisfied my own mind and judgment that it is impossible to send them there. There is no country then to receive them—they have not the wisdom and knowledge and capacity to govern themselves—and further, we have not the means to send them there. I do not intend to detain the convention with the history and the facts that have brought my mind to this conclusion, for no doubt every gentleman here has examined the subject for himself. Are they then to be free among us? I have satisfied my mind that these two races of people never can mingle and become one.—Free them, and they will become the Lazzaroni of the State. They will crowd to the cities—they will visit the country only on marauding parties—and they will become idle, vicious and ungovernable; look at those portions of Philadelphia and New York and other eastern cities where the free negroes congregate. Look at the records of their courts of criminal justice and you will find that they are embraced as idle, vicious, ungovernable, and in the annals of crime, a per cent. over that of the white race of more than a hundred. You may once in a while find an exception of one who is industrious, who accumulates property, but he never becomes an American. He is not one of the people, and can never aspire to an equality in our social relations. He never can, and if we free the two hundred thousand slaves that exist in Kentucky, it will be more difficult to govern them, than it is now. Instead of being productive of wealth, as they are now, they will be destructive of wealth. They will not be advanced in morality, but they will be advanced in crime. They will not be advanced in happiness, but they will be advanced in misery and in degradation. This is what has taken place in other States, and as sure as you withdraw the hand of the master from the slave here, so sure will the same thing take place among us.

We are to make a constitution for that people as well as for ourselves. They are now our slaves.—The right of the owner is shielded by the constitution under which we live, and guarded by the same spirit of right, that guarded private property from the inroads of the public interest with the consent of the legislature and full compensation. You can enter into the feelings and the spirit of the man who, if we were clear of Slavery, would vote against its introduction. But I think that those who entertain that feeling and that spirit and would overturn the institution as it now exists, have not looked along the whole line of circumstances that surround it.—Do you thereby advance the happiness of your slave? I think not. You secure his degradation, and you make it more difficult to govern and to rule him.—Though you place him on the footing of a free man, you cannot elevate him to the condition of the white man. It is an impossibility of nature, and we must have the distinction of races, the animosity, and the hatred, until the day comes, that one race shall expel the other. And when that day comes, it will not be a peaceable expulsion.

In forming a constitution we are to form it with reference to the existing state of things, and for the government of the people as they are, and I have satisfied my own mind that it is better for the slave and better for the white man, that while they remain in Kentucky they should remain in the condition of master and slave.

Those who hurl their anathemas against Slavery from other States, do not understand our condition, the difficulties we have to encounter, and the obligations we are under in relation to this species of property, and are not capable of judging it. They have, therefore, no effect on my firm conviction on the subject, that it is better for both races that the relation between them in this State should remain as it is now.

I think, sir, we are not prepared to take what I have referred to as the step in advance. And though I do not charge the gentleman from Madison with being with these emancipationists, yet he is aiding and assisting them in this move. I think that many have acceded to the insertion of the act of 1833 in the constitution without proper reflection. Nothing is to be gained by it, and positive injury is to be the result in the work we have now undertaken. If we were to put its provisions in the constitution of Kentucky, we would be aiding and assisting in the emancipation movement. It would be holding out to them encouragement without doing anything, and with almost a certainty, in my judgment, that we should thereby secure the rejection of our labors.—There was an implied pledge on the part of those who passed the law to call a convention, in the address they made to the people of Kentucky, that we would not intefere with this subject, that it was not the design and intention of those who advocated constitutional reform in Kentucky to intefere with the relations of master and slave. And as the gentleman from Mason said yesterday, the voice of the emancipationist was not heard in the land until we had passed the Rubicon, until the convention was called. I am not sure that it was not raised or assisted and carried forward by those who desired a rejection of the constitution, and hoped to fall back upon that instrument as it now exists. There is but one change that I would make in this constitution in relation to Slavery. I would fulfil faithfully the pledge held out, and under which I believe the convention was called, that we would not intefere between the rights of the master and the slave; and I would, in addition, prevent the emancipation of slaves to remain here. I would vote for that, because I think it is within the spirit of that pledge and the spirit of our system. I believe from my knowledge and experience that the emancipation of the slave is no advantage to the slave himself, while it is an absolute injury to the slave property, its owners, and to society at large. And the present constitution intends, in the emancipation of the slave, to guard the public from the support of him. It has the very principle that I would carry out, and it is the feeling I entertain upon the subject. In Kentucky, by the present constitution, we give every man the right to emancipate his slaves; and, by another provision, guarded the public and individuals against wrong and injury from the exercise of that right. I would throw a further guard over the public in relation to their emancipation, and prevent their remaining in the commonwealth of Kentucky to the injury of the slave property and of the citizens at large. And with that change, I think that I should be willing that the present constitution should stand as it is, and that our pledge would be redeemed. I am satisfied that we cannot emancipate the slaves and send them to Liberia—and that we ought not under the obligations which we owe to the slave himself, to drive him out against his will—because we would thereby make his condition worse.

I believe the principle that private property should not be taken without the consent of the representatives of the people, and without full compensation being first made, is a great fundamental one, that should never be violated. When you teach the citizen to violate that great principle, you have undermined the principle that sustains all good governments.

If you set the example of violating this principle you but lead to the formation of bands of robbers, and set them an example of taking by force without a just right, that property which has been acquired under the sanction of the constitution and the laws—that is, the fruits of a man's labor—as well his lands as his household goods. It is under that principle asserted in our government more than any other, that the enterprise and the activity of her people have carried us forward in the process of wealth, faster than any other government in the world. We have asserted in our constitution that it is beyond the power of the government itself to take from us the fruits of our labor—and every man feels that he is thus protected. The emancipationists would violate that principle. When we shall violate it in one instance, it will be but the first step towards other and greater violations. The day may come without the sacrifice of that principle when there will be a call for a division of estates, and when that call comes, we will come with a stronger voice and appeal to the selfishness of our nature, than does the subject of emancipation. Now it is only to take away the rights of a portion of our fellow citizens, in which alone they are interested, but when the command comes for a division of estates in a popular government, where the voice of the majority is to rule, the example you have set of violating and breaking down this great principle, will add to the force and power of selfishness in guiding on those who are to participate in and to divide the profits of such a division. And then, what becomes of the fruits of a long and industrious life in the accumulation of comfort's for a man's use in his old age or for the setting out of his children? You will have taken away the stimulus that induce the industrious to accumulation, because when you have once broken down this great principle, no one can tell when these interested bands may rise and call for plunder. It is said that the first step in crime is the one that weakens the conscience and is followed with pain and remorse, but that a few steps more, and all pain and remorse is gone, and the adventurer is fairly started on a career of crime. It is the first step in breaking down the great foundations of justice in a community—the invasion of private right, that distracts the people and undermines the foundations upon which we must stand in the formation of a government.

I think no good can come from this discussion, as to the abstract right or the positive evils or the positive blessings of this institution. It is our duty in framing a constitution to see that it conforms to the existing state of things, and therefore I am against incorporating the act of 1833 in the constitution—or, as I have before said, of taking the step in advance. I wish to retain in any new constitution the same great principle in relation to Slavery and private property, that was adopted in the present constitution.

The gentleman from Madison says we are not able to pay for emancipation—that we are not able to pay even the interest on the debt that would thus be created. That may be all very true, but this Government, this State, I trust is to exist for centuries, and how this thing may be hereafter no man can tell. There is a time when Slavery will cease. The Indian has receded before the Saxon, and still recedes. He is of an inferior race and lives by hunting, and as civilization marches on he gives place, and this I understand is according to the great laws of the ruler of the universe. In the march of population when white labor becomes cheaper and crowded, slave labor will yield to it. And the day will come when thus depreciated in value, and some country to which they may be sent is found, it may be the desire of those who shall come after us, to free their slaves, and to do it without a resort to revolution. And when that day shall come, I wish them to act as in their judgment is right, but I also desire to indicate to them in this constitution that the foundation of this government is laid in justice, and that property acquired under its sanction is not to be invaded without compensation to the owner. I am not one of those who propose to provide in this constitution for the perpetuity of Slavery. I recognize the principle that every people have a right to form their own government, and to change, alter, or modify it, as they may deem the interests of society require; and whenever those who may come after us shall desire so to do, I shall rest content that they, in their judgment, shall do what they deem right upon this and upon all other subjects. Therefore, I do not expect in this constitution to make Slavery perpetual, and beyond the reach of those who shall come after us.

I desire to secure in it the rights of property, and to secure the people against injury from an accumulation of free negroes among us. And I declare, also to let every man in the community who has slaves, whenever touched, either by religion or philanthropy, to manumit them at his pleasure, saving the common wealth and the good people thereof from all injury or danger from setting them free: and I believe that can be efficaciously done only by their removal from the commonwealth. Now we have a maxim in law, the English of which is, see that you use your own rights so as not to interfere with the rights and property of others. This is a very good rule, and a very good maxim. Now, if I have a right in property, in using that right, I am under obligations so to use it as not to interfere with my neighbors. If I own one hundred or one thousand slaves, I have the right of manumitting them. I do not wish to interfere with that right, but to prevent the exercise of it in a way that would injure the property of my neighbor or of the country at large; and I think we have the right so to limit and restrain it. And, hence, I would prohibit the emancipation of slaves, and the permitting them to remain in the State. There is no difficulty about it in my mind. We take private property for various uses after paying for it. We take slaves where they have been guilty of crime, and execute them for the same crimes for which we execute the white man. It is a public use of the property, and we renumerate the owner of him and take him. I do not wish the private interest of the owner to be stimulated to evade the public justice of the country by withholding him compensation when his property is used.

Mr. Chairman,—I will indulge in a few remarks in connection with one branch of the subject of the slave trade, without intending to go into the slave trade as carried on upon the seas. I have stated that the bringing in of slaves to Kentucky as merchandize has never been practised to any extent, and never will be while there is a better market for them; but it strikes me that gentlemen who are so horror stricken with the trade as it exists in the United States, have stopped short of the mark, if they intend to prohibit it at all. They do but half their work unless they prohibit the sale of slaves and the carrying of them out of Kentucky. It is as much a separation of the husband from the wife, the parent from the child, and the slave from his country, where you sell a Kentucky slave to a Virginia planter, as where you purchase him in another State and bring him here. As the gentleman from Mason said, there can be no great crime in bringing him to Kentucky from another place, but it may be a much worse crime to take him from this State to another. In relation to this slave trade about which so much noise is made, as it exists in the slave States of the country, its horrors have been greatly exaggerated. Go into the interior of Kentucky; there are but few slaves sold out of the State, and they are mostly those whose bad and ungovernable disposition is such, that the master can no longer control them. The proportion of the white population who flee from the State from their bad course and conduct, rendering them distasteful to the community in which they have resided, is as great as the proportion of the slave population that for bad conduct is sold into Slavery elsewhere. I refer gentlemen to the counties in which they live and their experience upon this subject. The trade so far as sending abroad is concerned rarely reaches any other than the dissolute, the idle, and the unruly; and then, not in a greater proportion than our white population flee their country when they have lost their characters.

I think that we who have come here under the pledges held out to the people, who voted to call this convention, and who have chosen its delegates should regard it as our bounden duty to leave this thing where we found it. We cannot put in the constitution the proposition of the gentleman from Madison, nor do I think we can put in that of the gentleman from Simpson. The great constitutional reforms that we desire and which the people of Kentucky have called for, if we intend them to be sanctioned by the people, will prevent either of those propositions from being incorporated in the constitution. We have got to make up our minds as to what the people want and desire, and as to what will be the effect of each proposition. If I had pledged myself upon this act of 1833 and the open clause, I would have had a high road to this convention; but knowing the condition of the country, and the obligation the delegate would be under to consult the interests and feelings and wishes of the whole state, I was unwilling, and refused to make a pledge on the subject, and I had difficulties in the way. And though we may have difficulties in the way in relation to the constitution that we may make, if we come together in the right spirit of concession, to carry out what the people of Kentucky designed in calling this convention, I doubt not we shall unite and frame an instrument that will be acceptable to them.

Mr. Chairman, I will add no more, for I have no doubt that every delegate has made up his mind, and I do not expect that any one will forbear giving his full and free views upon the subject. And it is right and proper that he should do so. I call upon those who favor constitutional reform, to look steadily at the difficulties to be encountered if we incorporate the proposition of either one gentleman or the other in the constitution. Something is to be left to the legislature of the country, the representatives of the people. I only desire to lay the foundation of this government in justice and wisdom, leaving the representatives of the people to carry it out.

Mr. DIXON: When the gentleman from Madison, yesterday, rose in his place, and announced to this convention that he was an ultra pro-slavery man, I thought it altogether just to him, that whatever misunderstanding I might have come to from listening to his remarks, delivered on Wednesday, should be corrected. I very promptly stated to the gentleman that I retracted any remarks which had been made by me calculated to do him injustice on that point. The gentleman, I have no doubt at all, is in feeling a pro-slavery man, but that is not the question he has offered to us to settle or discuss in this convention. His motives and feelings, he says, are with us; and for my own part, I have charity enough to allow that such is the fact. But the great question is, what is the tendency of the proposition he has submitted, and what are its effects upon the slaveholding interests of Kentucky; and upon that question I design submitting a few remarks before I have taken my seat.

The gentleman's proposition in substance is, that a citizen of Kentucky shall not purchase slaves out of the State for his own use.

Mr. Chairman, there are three classes of persons in the State of Kentucky, and in the United States, who are the advocates of the proposition of the gentleman from Madison. There is a powerful party outside of Kentucky who are the advocates of his proposition. There was a great many persons in Kentucky who are pro-slavery men, and the advocates of his proposition. There are in the State of Kentucky a great many gentlemen who are of the emancipation party, and the advocates of his proposition. The gentleman from Madison belongs to that class of the people of Kentucky, who, although pro-slavery men, believe it to be right and proper that the measure he presents to the house should be incorporated in the constitution of the State. The gentleman is influenced by one motive, such as he describes to this convention; the other gentlemen are influenced by different motives, such as will finally result in the emancipation of the slave. There is a powerful party, not in Kentucky, looking most anxiously to the deliberations of this body, and who are most anxious that there should be some lodgment in the constitution on which they may build their hopes of ultimately bringing the State to emancipation. There is a powerful party in the State looking anxiously to the deliberations of this body, and trusting to see some provision in the constitution which will be, to use the language of my friend from Mason, the entering wedge for a great system of emancipation. This is the classification of parties.

Under the constitution of the United States, those who live outside of Kentucky and who inhabit what we call the free States, are under the most solemn obligations, whenever slaves belonging to Kentucky, or any other State, shall take refuge within their limits, to return them safely to their owners, or to aid and assist at least, in surrendering them up to those entitled to their services. There is a party in the United States who regard that great principle in the constitution as null and void, and who consider they have a right to set themselves up in violation of it, and nullify it. That party is denominated the Abolition party, and they are uniting with all parties who seek the emancipation of the slaves within the limits of the slave States. I do not mean to say that the emancipationists of Kentucky are in any respect Abolitionists, because I can clearly perceive that a difference exists in principle; but I do mean to say that the results of the action of those who term themselves emancipationists, and those who proclaim themselves Abolitionists, are in effect the same; I do mean to charge on the gentleman from Madison, that this proposition of his is one of a great series, which if carried into full effect will finally result in the emancipation of all the slaves in this State. All are acting together, and all their measures are tending to the same result.

Let us for a moment examine this great question, and see whether such is not the fact. An effort is making to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia. Why is it? It is that there may be a place of refuge for the slaves to flee to, from the service of their masters; that there may be a place where the constitution of the United States imposes no obligations upon the citizens to surrender any slave who has escaped from his owners. There is an effort in the Congress of the United States to abolish Slavery, so far as it may exist within such places within the limits of the slave States, over which Congress may exercise exclusive jurisdiction—within the limits of all docks, and arsenals, and places of that description. What is the object of it? It is to provide a place of refuge for the slave when he shall flee from his owner. There is a party to be found within the limits of every free State utterly opposed to passing any laws, or to the enforcement of any laws, by which the slave shall be restored to the possession of his owner. Did we not see but a short time since, the State of Ohio repealing all laws, the object of which was, to assist the master in reclaiming his runaway slaves? Do we not in addition to all this, see that the very courts have set themselves up within the limits of these free States to assist in the escape of the slave from his master. But a short time since, one of the courts in the State of New York decided, that if the owner of a slave used any force whatever in his attempt to recover him, it should be regarded as a forfeiture of the slave. And if the owner of a slave, exercising his sound discretion, should place him within the precincts of a jail for greater safety, it should be regarded as the forfeiture of his right to the slave. All this was done to break down the institution of Slavery within the limits of the slave States. That is the object and design. Now what does all this tend to? In the first place, the runaway slave from Kentucky, finds a refuge in those places in which it is declared by act of Congress that Slavery shall no longer exist; and secondly, in the protection of those who are determined, in violation of the constitution of the United States, to aid the slaves in escaping from their masters.

And you find, sir, that even the people themselves, under the sanction of law, formed themselves into bands for the purpose of enabling slaves to escape. Now, all these things are calculated to weaken the tenure by which slave property is held, and to render that kind of property less secure. This is the course pursued by those outside of the limits of Kentucky. Now let us come to the State itself and see what is the course that gentlemen, anxious for the emancipation of the slaves, are pursuing. First, there are those who are for emancipating the slaves without making any compensation to their owners. This is rather a startling proposition, and I say it with all due deference to the great mind who conceived it. That emancipation should take place upon the slave's attaining a certain age, and that he should then be hired out for three years, and that the proceeds of his labor should be applied to his transportation to such place as might be chosen as his future home. It is a very great question—I mean the question which the distinguished gentleman from Louisville has argued with great ability as to the power of the State of Kentucky to take from her citizens—for I take it for granted, the right of property in slaves is the same as the right to any other sort of property—to take from her citizens the property that is secured to them under the sanction of the constitution of the State. The first great question is, as to the power of the government of the State to do this. Does that power exist? Is it within the power of the State to take the property of her citizens and appropriate it to the public use without making any compensation for it? This is the great and important question. Sir, what is the relation which exists in Kentucky between the master and the slave? How does it exist? Was it not an agreement among those who formed the old constitution under which we are now living, that the master should enjoy the labor of his slave? And if there be this solemn agreement existing between the sovereign power of Kentucky and the citizens of Kentucky, can that agreement be violated? The gentleman from Louisville read from the constitution in reference to this great question; I will barely call the attention of this convention again to it:

"No person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of his life or limb, nor shall any man's property be taken or applied to public use, without the consent of his representatives and without just compensation being previously made to him."

That is the great point; "nor shall any man's property be taken for public use without his consent or without compensation being made to him." What is the manifest interpretation of this? Is it not an agreement between the sovereign power of Kentucky and the people of the State? What is that agreement? That the people shall not be deprived of their property, without compensation being made to them. Now, if this be so, what is the tendency of the proposition of the gentleman, or at least the argument of the gentleman? It is, that this solemn agreement shall be disregarded. But admitting that you have the power to violate that agreement, ought such a power to be exercised? I deny that we have the power to pass any law, whether in convention or in the legislature, by which the solemn contract contained in the constitution, securing the rights of property to the citizen shall be violated. What is the language of the constitution of the United States?

"No State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of a contract."

This is the emphatic language of the constitution of the United States; not that no legislattre shall do so, but no State shall. What do we propose now to do? To pass a law violating the solemn contract between a sovereign State and its citizens. I beg to refer gentlemen to a judicial decision given by that illustrious man, chief justice Marshall, and I apprehend that after referring to it, there can scarcely be a doubt remaining on the mind of any gentleman here, that the State of Kentucky has not the power to take from the citizen the property that is vested in him under the constitution; and it is upon this point that I differ from my honorable friend from Louisville. The case to which I refer is that of Fletcher vs. Peck.

Sir, we are citizens of two great sovereignties. We are not only citizens of Kentucky but we are citizens of the United States. Kentucky is a sovereignty, but she is not an absolute sovereignty. She is laboring under disabilities, and one of those disabilities is, that she cannot pass a law impairing any contract. And that is the ground upon which the former chief justice of the United States—I mean chief justice Marshall—places this great question. In a case growing out of a suit for lands in the State of Georgia, in which land had been granted by the State to a citizen of that State, when the party held under a grant from the governor of the State which was issued in pursuance of an act of the Assembly, but which was abrogated by a subsequent act of the Assembly, chief justice Marshall, in pronouncing the decision of the court, used this language: "The sovereign power of a State is not precluded from making a contract with a citizen of the State; and having made such contract, is not the sovereign power of the state under the same disability to violate that contract that the citizen is placed under?" The conclusion at which he arrived was—that the disability in both cases was the same and that it was out of the power of the state of Georgia, after she had granted lands to a citizen of the State to divest the citizen of his title. Now this is the great question presented here. Has the state the power to divest the citizen of his right to property which is guarantied to him by the constitution of the state? I maintain boldly that she has not the power. In the first place I do not believe that the power exists, and in the second place, I believe it would be a fraud upon the citizen if attempted to be exercised. The citizen rests upon the guarantee of the right of property that is contained in the constitution, and if the state seizes upon his property and converts it to the public use, it at once sinks the character of the government to the level of dishonesty. But there is another great quesiton. If the power does exist, would it be right and proper that it be exercised? What do you propose to do? To strike out a great principle which lies at the foundation of free government, that principle which has agitated the whole of Europe, which agitated England to its foundation and elicited the great charter of the people's rights, called *magna charta*, that great principle which lies at the foundation of the liberties of this country. It was the determination of England on the one hand to seize the property of her subjects unlawfully, and the resistance of the colonists on the other, that led to the establishment of our free institutions. It is a principle that has been consecrated by blood, and which will never be forfeited by those who desire to preserve their freedom. It is a principle that is incorporated in the constitution of the United States, and one which enters into the organization of all the state governments of this Union. What will be the consequence of abrogating this principle? What will be the consequence of permitting it to be understood, that Kentucky in her sovereign capacity can take away the property of her citizens? Let this once be proclaimed abroad throughout the free states—let it be understood that the refuse of the population of every country on the face of the earth, may come here, and help to swell the majority whose vote may take away the property of the citizen—let it go to the pauper population of Ireland and of Germany, and all other countries where misery walks abroad unprotected, and here they will come, form themselves into voters and employ their votes to deprive the honest citizen of the property that he has gathered by a long life of toil. This will be the result of striking out of the constitution this sacred guarantee that a man's property shall not be taken away from him, without compensation first being made to him. Let us examine a little further this project of emancipation. I maintain that it cannot be done. Yet there are others who hold that it can. Let us trace it a little further. All the slaves are to be made free, and after having served for three years, are to be sent to Liberia, and the expense of their removal to be defrayed from the products of these three year's labor. What in the name of heaven will become of them then? From eight to ten thousand negroes sent from the state of Kentucky to a distant shore, without the means of providing for themselves when they arrive there! And all this in the name of humanity, of justice, of liberty! They are to be torn from their families, the husbands separated from their wives, the parent from the children, all the associations of life broken up, thrown upon a distant shore without any means of support except six months provisions. What will become of them when those six months have expired? Ten thousand people sent to a foreign country, the wild and the vicious, the weak and impotent, the old and dying, the lazy and the idle, the vagabond and the pauper, mingled together in one common mass, what will be their condition when you have got them there? Will they have houses to shelter them? None. Lands to cultivate? None. Implements of husbandry? None. Nothing but six month's provision, and after that, starvation, ruin, desolation staring them in the face, meeting them at the very threshhold of their new home. This is the plan of those who are the advocates of this system of emancipation. Sir, it cannot be done. It will not, ought not to be done.

But again let us examine another plan. It is that of a distinguished gentleman of Kentucky, who proclaimed it as the firm conviction of his judgment that this system of keeping the negro in bondage ought not to be continued. That humanity and religion call aloud for its suppression. What is his plan? Why, that all, after arriving at a particular age, shall be free, and unless taken from the State before that time they shall be transported to Liberia.

Do the teachings of humanity intruct you that it would be right to sever the relation which exists between me and my servants, and between them and all that is dear to them? Yet all this, the gentleman says, is consistent with his ideas of religion and humanity. Sir, it is utterly impracticable. It would be a violation of all the great principles of humanity, and the country itself, unless it sink far below the standard of religion and humanity, which I have attributed to it, will never sanction such a proceeding. All these plans may be regarded as impracticable, and have been abandoned. And what have we next? A convention assembled in Fankfort for the purpose of devising some new mode of emancipation. And what is the plan that was proposed there? Give us some principle in the constitution by which all importation of slaves into the State shall be prevented. And let no gentlemen, who are in favor of that proposition in this convention, suppose that I attribute to them any participation in the designs of the emancipationists. But concede to them the open clause and the gentleman's proposition and the question will be agitated at all times hereafter; you will weaken the tenure by which slaves are held, and induce the master to fly with his slaves to a place where he will be more secure in the enjoyment of his property. And a further result will be, that we shall have no slaves brought into Kentucky. The effect will be as everybody must at once perceive that no one would think of removing except from those States where it has been determined that Slavery shall no longer exist.—Virginians and Carolinians will not come here. The only person that will come, will be those who are in the habit of agitating the question of emancipation, and they will continue to agitate until the people become alarmed, and some will leave the State, while the rest will be anxious to get rid of a species of property that is held by an uncertain tenure.

In regard to the plan of the gentleman from Madison, do we not see that it is one of a series, the tendency of which is, toward the final emancipation of all the slaves? He says, let no man be permitted to go abroad and purchase slaves, and bring them into this State, for his own use. I am as much opposed to dealing in human flesh as any man can be, but there is a solemn obligation resting upon me, as well as upon every man, to aid in carrying out the laws of the country. The gentleman's proposition is, that we shall not bring slaves into Kentucky from any foreign State, for our own use. Now you will see at once the effect of this, if it has any effect.

According to the position assumed by the gentleman from Madison, another effect of engrafting into the constitution his proposition, would be to enhance the value of the slaves already in the State, and of securing to a few the monopoly of slave labor. Admitting this to be correct, it is clear that the tendency of the gentleman's measure would be to excite in the mind of the non-slaveholder, a prejudice against those for whose benefit alone the institution of Slavery would seem to have been established, and to array him with those who are interested in bringing about a system of emancipation. But the effect of the principle would not stop here. It would be disregarded by a large portion of the people of the State. Those who chose to go to Virginia and Maryland and purchase slaves for their own use would not be held responsible, for no law can or will be enforced to which the public sentiment of the country is opposed. It is true that the conscientious portion of the community would not violate it, but the unscrupulous would not hesitate to do so. Many good and honest citizens who wish to purchase slaves for their own use, would not act in contravention of the constitution, and would prefer purchasing from those who have them in market, where they would be left by the negro traders, men who purchase for speculation and without regard to the character of the slaves. The vilest description of slaves, those who had been guilty of crimes probably, would be brought into Kentucky, because they could be purchased at a low rate by the speculator with the prospect of obtaining a high price here. Allow the honest farmer, who wishes to go abroad and purchase slaves for his own use, to do so, and the case will be far different. He will be cautious in the selection he makes, and will bring in only such as have good characters for honesty and industry.

Those who call themselves emancipationists ought to understand what that effect is. They wish to incorporate into the constitution of Kentucky what is called the open clause. I am not for giving them any such advantage. Give us, say they, an entering wedge, and when you do that we we will split the timber in such a way as will suit our own views. I am not for giving them that advantage. The gentleman's proposition then, taken in connection with the open clause, if it amounts to anything, will have a tendency to lead to emancipation. I feel bound then to oppose it at the very threshhold. I shall oppose it here and everywhere. If the gentleman wishes to place it upon the statute book, let him place it there. I do not want it here—it is one of that series of plans which are expected to result in emancipation.

Sir, I do not mean to say here or elsewhere, that I am the advocate of perpetual Slavery. As I remarked yesterday, I would to God that it were possible for all mankind to be free. If in my power, I would break the shackles that bind the most low and contemptible being that crawls on the face of the earth. But we must look at the condition of society in Kentucky, as it is. Sir, you cannot dignify the African race by emancipating them, you cannot raise them to fill the civil rights of freemen, you cannot elect them to fill the civil offices of the government. You cannot bring your manumitted slave to your fireside and to your table, you cannot introduce him to the social circle with your family, you cannot allow him to enjoy with you those privileges which fall alike to the humblest and the most exalted of your own race, and when you proclaim that the shackles of the slave are broken, when you have said to him, "you are free," what is the advantage that you confer upon him? Is it to breathe the pure air of heaven, is it to drink from the limpid stream which is free to all, is it to walk abroad and proclaim his new-born liberty? Sir, when you fail to give him the civil rights of freemen, degradation follows him wherever he goes. He sinks in the scale of humanity far below the slave who now excites the sympathies of gentlemen. Cut him off from all the privileges of a participation in the affairs of government, and you take away from him the inducement to be honest, you drive him to a violation of the law; he becomes a robber and a vagabond; he becomes a man of crime. This will be his condition; it cannot be avoided.—What then are we to do with him? If we convey him from the State, will his condition then be improved? Here he has house and raiment; here he has no wants that are not supplied. Sir, he is a happy man, infinitely better off than the miserable, wretched vagabonds, the pauper population of other States and countries, whom you call free. Will the gentleman tell me that the system of laws which is to sink him below the brute and deprive him of all the privileges that belong to freemen, which will shut him out from human society and render him a robber and a man of blood, is the proper system? Will he not rather tell him that the system of laws which bind the master to the slave and the slave to the master, is much better than any theory of government that the visionary minds of the emancipationists have or can devise? Sir, there is no doubt in my mind as to what would be the effect of such a theory. It would be ruin to the slave, and ruin to the master. That sir would be the ultimate and certain result. My own opinion is, that in view of the relation which exists in Kentucky between master and slave, considering the abhorrence on the part of the white population at establishing an equality between themseives and the blacks, it is better that the institution be continued. Contrast the condition of our slaves with that of the pauper population in other countries. Here, the master protects his slaves; there the man exists in a state of destitution, and is unprotected, his wants unrelieved except by the cold charities which the law metes out to him in stinted and parsimonious portions. Go to the populous cities, and there in the midst of profusion, wretchedness and misery stare you in the face. Magnificent palaces present themselves to the eye, while the needy mendicant goes unrelieved by the lordly occupant. What is it to him who revels in those palaces, and enjoys the wealth of a John Jacob Astor, that thousands of his fellow creatures perish with hunger? It is by oppression, that a great system of aristocracy is created. It is reared upon the ruin of the miserable population who are falling prostrate to the feet of power. Cast your eyes upon the wretched and starving population of Ireland, and do you not hear the wretched and suffering child crying to the mother, "give me but three grains of corn." Are such scenes witnessed in Kentucky? Where is the pauper who does not meet with the sympathies of those around him? Where is the man, who is suffering with want, who is not relieved? Rarely does an instance of real want present itself under the benevolent system of our government. Such cases do not exist. We are the happiest people on the face of the earth, and we are the proudest people on the face of the earth, I will not say that we are the most chivalrous people, but I will say, that in this respect we are not surpassed.

There is no reason, in my judgment, why the relation between master and slave should be severed. I do not think it ever will be. It ought not to be until a plan can be devised, by which the condition of the slave can be improved, and no injustice done to the master. I would give up my slaves willingly, if such a plan could be devised, but I shall not yield them up under the false systems of philanthropy and humanity which the wild fanaticism of those who call themselves emancipationists propose. I have no right to murder my slave. I have no right to do him wrong. The principles of philanthropy, of religion, and of law, forbid it. And I utterly abhor and detest the system of philanthropy which proposes the sacrifice of the slave for the benefit of the white man. And yet these gentlemen tell me, that humanity and religion require the sacrifice. I should not like to be the priest of such an oracle, nor would I be the priest to preside at the altar of such a sacrifice.

Mr. Irwin. I shall detain the committee but a very few minutes, for I am sure that there is no gentleman who attempts to address the committee, who requires more of the indulgence of the house. As I am not much in the habit of public speaking, my rising to do so is attended with some degree of nervousness.

—I should not on to-day have said a single word if it had not been for the remarks, which fell from our honorable President, and if I am to fall in this contest, I would prefer to fall by his hand rather than by that of an ignoble foe. He insinuated that those who are in favor of the law of 1833, to some extent were attaching themselves to the emancipation party in the State, and that the object of that attachment, was to bring about the defeat of the constitution which we are about to make. Now I have ever opposed this convention, and upon no other ground in the world than that I believed that this question of emancipation would be brought up. But this is not only a great question in Kentucky, but it is becoming a paramount question everywhere, and it seems to me, that the movement, not only here but throughout the whole Union is calculated to build up a great party which is to operate upon the future elections in this country. Have we not seen lately one of the most distinguished personages in the United States, permitting himself to be a candidate for the Presidency of this Union, surely with no hope of success, but that he might form a nucleus around which the Free Soil party or Abolitionists of the north might gather. Have you not seen very lately a distinguished Senator in Missouri taking the same ground, not now "solitary and alone." And again, we have seen a distinguished Senator from Kentucky, whom I have ever admired and for whom I have voted, and for whose success I have felt a deeper interest than for that of any other politician, coming forward and attaching his name to the emancipation movement in our own State. And I fear that I may live to see the day when these distinguished Senators will be found fighting under the same banner. I believe that the emancipation movement in Kentucky has been mainly brought about by a union of the emancipationists and the democracy with the office seekers. It is true, the emancipationists of this country never opened their mouths upon the subject until it was decided that this convention should be called; but the very moment the call of the convention was decided upon, they did open their mouths, and had unfortunately the sanction of the name of the distinguished individual I have alluded to. But even with his potent name and influence they have failed to elect one single delegate to this convention.

What, you may ask me, was the object of the Democratic party in attaching themselves to the emancipation party? I do not say they did so for the purpose of advancing the interest of the emancipation party, but mainly for the purpose of advancing their own interest. They knew very well, that unless they could create new issues, they never could get a majority, but from the time of calling the convention up to the meeting, the democracy have determined to seize upon all the popular points and principles to be inserted in the new constitution, to give themselves the ascendancy. The son of a very distinguished gentleman has said that whiggery and democracy were demolished, that those parties never could again exist in these United States. I firmly believe the remark to be true. Will not the democracy and emancipationists unite, and if they do so unite, may they not engraft principles in the new constitution which may cause it to be rejected. This discussion has arisen upon a single proposition. What is that proposition? That the principle of the law of 1833 shall be engrafted upon the new constitution, and the gentleman from Louisville, our distinguished President, has voted for the passage of that law in 1833, that he regarded it as correct in principle. And now forsooth, he is willing to abandon it. Why? Not because it is bad in principle, but because the popular will has been indicated by the last legislature, and he yields to popular will rather than to his own convictions of right and wrong. Does he abandon it then to become the leader of the pro-slavery party in Kentucky? Perhaps it does not become me to say that he desires to become the leader of the pro-slavery party, but new issues are to be seized upon which will advance the interests of the party of which the gentleman is a distinguished member.

I think gentlemen have lashed themselves into a great fury upon a proposition simply to engraft the principle of the law of 1833. But with due deference to the gentlemen, their arguments have had but little to do with it. It seems to me that the question is simply, will the engrafting of the principle of the law of 1833 upon the new constitution, advance the interest of the emancipationists. If I believed it would, I would be the last man to sanction it. But I do not believe it. That law has been upon the statute book for sixteen years, and has the emancipation party accomplished anything? Have they succeeded in electing a single delegate to this convention? They have not. Then why not incorporate the principle of the law of 1833, since it has not advanced their interest? There have been immense changes in reference to this matter. The people of the part of the country which I in part represent, have been uniformly in favor of the repeal of that law, and the people in the north part of the State have been opposed to such repeal. The gentleman says he voted against its repeal, but he objects to the incorporation of its principle into the new constitution, not because the principle is bad, but because public sentiment has changed. I think the gentleman is mistaken if he supposes that public sentiment has changed. How will the incorporation of that principle be an entering wedge by which the interest of the emancipation party will be subserved?

The present slave population in Kentucky amounts to about two hundred thousand—the annual increase of which alone amounts to about six thousand. I venture to predict that this natural increase will, in twenty years, increase the slave population in Kentucky to three hundred and fifty thousand. And I ask, will not that be an increase of the slave population quite as large as the gentleman desires? Do gentlemen wish to bring in more slaves? Why? Is it that every gentleman shall have an opportunity to have a slave for his own use? The gentleman from Henry remarked that unless they were the sons of nabobs, there was no use in going to Virginia to get them, that in many instances, it would be better if none of us had one. I regard them as no blessing. From the speeches of gentlemen, you would suppose there was some proposition to bring about gradual emancipation. There surely is nothing of that sort proposed. When this constitution goes before the people, if the law of 1833 shall be incorporated in it, it will be seized upon by the demagogues of the country, and it will be represented by them that we have formed a constitution which will deprive the people of the privilege of purchasing negroes out of the State for their own use, when in truth and in fact there are slaves enough in Kentucky for all practical purposes. I honestly believe that if this principle be incorporated in the constitution, the emancipation party, seeing their position, that Kentucky is bound to adhere to the South and to Southern institutions, you will never hear one word of complaint in reference to this proposition again. So far from producing disturbance of disquietude, I firmly and honestly believe it will give peace and happiness and quiet to the whole country.

There have been some singular positions taken by the gentleman from Henderson, and I will make a single remark in reference to one or two of them. He very benevolently desires that foreigners shall have equal privileges with natives in the exercise of the elective franchise. This may be right. He would make no individious distinctions, as proposed by the resolution of the gentleman from Bourbon (Mr. Davis,) but I infer from his argument that if the negroes may be permitted to be brought in, the consequence of which is the foreigners will be kept out. This is a very strange position. By what logic can he reconcile it? Again, he says you cannot elevate the negro—you cannot bring him to your firesides—you can't make him Governor—he has no incentives to be an honest man, and he has no incentive to work. Yet his argument is in favor of bringing in more of this unfortunate race, a consequence of which will be that foreigners will be kept out, against whom no such disabilities obtain. This is not the time to discuss which would be the best policy, to bring in more negroes or foreigners. That will be a contest more appropriate to the gentleman from Bourbon and Macduff himself. But it seems to me that if the gentleman from Henderson shall be able to reconcile the principles which he has asserted to-day, he will be compelled to vote for the resolution of the gentleman from Bourbon. For myself, when the proper time arrives, I shall vote for the incorporation of the principle of the law of 1833. I did so in committee, and did not agree with the report of the committee on Slavery, in some of its most important provisions. I was for incorporating the seventh section of the present constitution, exactly as it is with the exception that free negroes shall be sent out of the commonwealth, believing that that principle and the law of 1833 would give universal satisfaction.

In conclusion, it is my determination to adhere to the South and to Southern institutions, whatever change may be produced by party changes in Kentucky or elsewhere. I regard the preservation of the Union itself as being dependent upon the maintainance of Southern interests and Southern institutions.

Mr. Dixon. The gentleman says he does not see how I can reconcile the two propositions—the one contained in the resolution which I had the honor to offer on the subject of naturalized citizens, and the proposition which I make here, that it would be wrong for a bare majority to take away a man's property. I do not intend to assert that a bare majority ought to have the right to take away a man's property. I do not mean to admit that principle; nor do I mean to admit the principle, that the citizens of Kentucky, together with naturalized foreigners have the right by their votes, to take away the property of citizens. I would give to naturalized citizens the same rights that are enjoyed by the natural born citizens; but I would deny, in both cases, the right of a mere majority to deprive the citizen of his property.

Mr. Nuttall moved that the committee rise and report progress.

The motion was agreed to, and leave was granted to sit again.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1849.

Things Political.

The Annual Agony is over. The ballot-boxes have closed upon the Sibylline Leaves from which our Soothsayers seek to spell out our Destinies. Their imperfect utterances were flashed from Maine to Louisiana almost before the last lingering voter had torn himself from the scene of his imagined victory or defeat, and all may read them as they list. It has on the whole been a tolerably comfortable season for us impartial lookerson, because the Elections have, as a general thing, resulted in the disappointment of all parties. The Democrats in New York have not quite carried their point, while the Whigs rejoice with trembling over a victory which they foresee must grow into a Defeat. In Massachusetts the Taylorites have had a rebuff such as they little expected and which must have materially qualified the pleasure of their absolute success. While the Free Soilers, everywhere, have had a lesson as to the inefficiency of their Method to accomplish any sufficient End. They have not only been taught, if they have the grace to learn, that Slavery is not to be reached by the means they use, but that their men are not to be relied upon so as to develope what virtue there may be in them.

We sincerely wish that the success of the Free Soil movement had been greater. Not that we think that it is of any particular moment to the Slaves, or to the Country, whether Zachary Taylor or Martin Van Buren be the Chief Gaoler at Washington, or whether George Briggs or Stephen C. Phillips be set to keep the Massachusetts Ward of the National Prison-house; but because we believe that many of the sincere Anti-Slavery men of that Party will learn the futility of their attempt only through the Dissapointment of Success. We have no objection to their Coalitions and Amalgamations where they had the honest object of defeating the party which is now the especial Representative of the Slave Power, for such is the only means by which political success can be achieved, and it is absurd, having accepted the process, to quarrel with the neccessary steps. Politics is a very coarse and clumsy machine, at best, and they who are too fine gentlemen to bear its legitimate and necessary workings had better let it alone. In our Country it is only to be fed by votes, and people who wish for a grist to their minds must not be too particular as to what goes into the hopper. Nothing can well be more comic than to see gentlemen professing to believe that the Country is to be redeemed by a majority of votes, turning up their noses at the very votes that are essential to the redemption they seek.

The first thing which a Voter has to swallow is the Constitution under which he votes, and which is the Commission he gives to his minister whom he appoints by his ballot. If his Æsophagus has been enlarged by the deglutition of this monstrous Camel, with all its humps of Pro-Slavery Compromises and concessions, one would think that he would hardly strain at a poor little gnat of a Democrat,—or a Whig either, when "the whirligig of Time has again brought around his revenges." We wish to see all the elements that principle or policy can unite brought together for political onslaught upon Slavery, not because we believe that they could do anything to the purpose, as long as they are encumbered by the fetters of the Constitution; but because we believe that this is a stage that must be passed through before a large class of minds will discover that nothing can be thus done. We believe that many of the leading Free Soilers, who came out of the Whig and Democratic parties, are sincere men, who have made actual sacrifices of personal position and political promotion for what seems to them a high duty. We wish they could be put in a position, for once, in which by trying what they can do they will find that they can do nothing, and that they must begin their work over again. But the fearful falling off of the crop of Free Soil votes, even in the localities most favorable to their growth, since the last harvest-time, looks ill for the future. It looks as if the constitution of the Free Soil Party were too queasy for prolonged life, unless it can get a large infusion of fresh blood into its veins.

We have never expected that any large proportion of the American People would come up to the ground occupied by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in relation to to the Constitution of the Union. That ground was discerned and is maintained by men who have looked at the Constitution and the Union with the eyes of the Slave, and with the single purpose of discharging the grand duty of this Age and Country, as far as they were concerned, to him. Such are not the views or purposes of the mass of the Northern People, not even of that portion that goes to make up the Free Soil Party. The motives and arguments that have been urged to influence its action, as far as they have come within our notice, have been chiefly drawn from the selfish interests of those addressed. The predominance of the South, her injustice to the North, the unequal distribution of high Office, her hostility to Northern interests, and other similar topics of a personal or sectional nature, have been the main springs which the managers of this Movement have played upon. This is the natural course of things and one not to be complained of. But these considerations do not come home to the daily business and internal lives of those addressed, and therefore their influence is but transient. Witness the diminution of the Free Soil Vote in Massachusetts. There are the Slaves, and here is the political punishment of permitting them to be such; why should Zeal diminish and love grow cold? The existence of an Ultra, Fanatical, Anti-Slavery body is as essential to Political Anti-Slavery, as the Steam in the Engine is to the motion of the Train.

It is true that an enlightened self-interest or an intelligent self-respect would lead to political action that might result in the enfranchisement of the North, at least. But enlightenment and intelligence are the very things our self-interest and self-respect lack. If these were not wanting would the North submit to the utter annihilation of the Constitution, as far as they are concerned, in the enslavement of our citizens, the expulsion of our legal agents and our forcible ejection from the National tribunals? But this voluntary darkening of the eyes, and this pusillanimity of spirit, is a part of the punishment consequent on our criminal consenting to the oppression of our countrymen, and makes all Reformation that does not proceed from genuine Repentance, almost impossible.—It is the wish to combine continued connivance with the crime, with effectual endeavor against it, that complicates our political action. An accomplice always cuts a sorry figure when he appears as witness against the partaker of his crime or as his rebuker. This is the absurd and culpable attitude in which Anti-Slavery politicians stand. The business of Abolitionists is to keep the Mind of the Public in such a state of wholesome Agitation on the subject of Slavery as to compel such imperfect service as it is in its heart and its nature to give.

All political attempts to control Slavery, hitherto, have been groping and empirical. Perhaps they may learn wisdom from their own mistakes. Mr. John Van Buren, in his speech at Faneuil Hall indicated a future step, which may be in the right direction. He made three significant suggestions. First, that New York will not go into a National Convention with the South, unless the South retract her resolutions making the Extension of Slavery a test of office; secondly, that he would never support any man for President who would not exert his power, to its extreme Constitutional extent, for the Abolition of Slavery; and thirdly, that matters might come to such a pass as to result in the election of a President by Northern votes, alone. This, it seems to us, indicates the next move on the political Chess-board.—Let a Convention be called in 1852 of delegates from the Free States alone, and a Party organized as the Northern Party, and the Politics of the Country would begin to right itself again. It is the delusion of Nationality, and the pretended abnegation of Sectionality, that has given us up bound hand and foot to the South. An Anti-Slavery party must be strictly and necessarily a Sectional or Northern Party. It would have its favorers in the South, as the Sonthern Party would in the North; but the controlling, compelling, force of the party must consist in its Northern character and objects. Whatever arrays the North against the South is of its own nature a good. When two hostile elements are separated and placed in direct antagonism with each other, there is a hope that the worst may go to the wall. As long as they attempt to act in alliance with each other the worst must have the mastery of the better. This state of things would be far enough from being the best, but it would be a far more wholesome and hopeful political condition than has existed for forty years.—E. Q.

The Syracuse Convention.

We are glad to publish the following cheering letter from our esteemed friend, Samuel J. May, that our readers may be assured that he is heartily in earnest about the Convention, and ready to go to work in its behalf. His suggestion of the 8th of January as a good day for the first session of the Convention will, we presume, meet with the general concurrence of the Abolitionists of the State. The roads, by that time, will probably be settled, and the time is about half-way between the Christmas Fairs and Holydays, and the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

LETTER FROM SAMUEL J. MAY.

Syracuse, November 19, 1849.

To the Editor of the Standard:

My Dear Friend,—I am rejoiced to find that the proposal to hold a State Convention of Abolitionists, Anti-Slavery men and women, meets with so cordial a response. Still more do I rejoice that Syracuse is thought to be the most suitable place for such a gathering. The central position of this city; the facility of getting to it from all parts of the State; the well-known hospitality of the inhabitants, and the abundance of its capacious Hotels, all help to determine that here the Convention ought to be held.

We ought now to fix upon the time when it should be held.

—Most persons with whom I have advised, think it should be early in January. I therefore name *Tuesday the 8th* of that month. The Convention will probably continue in session three days, as the subjects to be brought up for consideration, cannot be fully discussed in any less time. Perhaps we may see fit to protract it through another day, and therefore I think we should commence as early in the week as Tuesday.

If I find in your next paper, that you announce *Tuesday the 8th of January*, 1850, as the time, I will immediately cause notice to be given throughout Central and Western New York, that all who are truly interested in the Abolition of Slavery may be called to the Convention.

I shall of course give a most liberal invitation, that it may not be suspected that only those are invited who belong to our division of the Anti-Slavery Host. I am particularly desirous that those true-hearted philanthropists, Gerrit Smith, Beriah Greene, William Goodell, John Thomas, Samuel R. Ward, and the like, should be assured that we wish to meet them in Counsel, and, if need be, in discussion. Many others too there are who were members of the quondam Liberty Party, sincerely believing that Slavery was to be most speedily overthrown by that instrumentality, who are undeceived by the catastrophy that has befallen them under the name they received at Buffalo. But they have not lost their interest in the cause of Liberty. We shall cordially invite them to come to our Convention, and impart to us the benefit of their experience, and of the observations they have taken from other points of view.

My own wish is that that the proposed Convention should be a mighty gathering of all who unfeignedly long for "the acceptable year of the Lord," when every yoke shall be broken, and all the oppressed shall be set free. And such, I trust, will be heartily welcomed by those with whom this meeting originated.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

Convention at Washington Hollow.

We had not the pleasure of being present at the Convention at Washington Hollow last week, but we hear from several quarters that the occasion was a pleasant and profitable one. "Our Convention was excellent," writes Mrs. Foster in a private letter, "and much larger than others had anticipated. Yet there was a much greater readiness to adopt thorough Anti-Slavery Resolutions taking the ultra ground of the American Society, than we had supposed it possible. The Convention was made up almost entirely of persons who have never given a thought to our principles and measures till the last summer and this fall, but we find they are well made. James and Lucretia Mott did great service, and Waldo went beyond our expectations. .....We feel great encouragement at the present aspect of affairs in this county. The ground is now prepared for a good crop." Messrs. Roberts, Spoar and Bonney who were advertised to be present were not there, but a Convention with the Motts, Fosters, and Mr. Waldo on its platform could feel no want of speakers.

We presume that some more particular and official account will be sent us for publication in the next *Standard*.

Lectures in Connecticut.

We received from Samuel May, jr., several notices of lectures to be delivered by Charles C, Burleigh, and Miss Stone, in various places in Ct., this week, which notices were intended for insertion in the last No. of the *Standard*, but they did not reach us in season. It is not too late, however, to state that C. C. Burleigh, and Lucy Stone are to be in the northern part of Litchfield county for the remainder of this week. Mr. May himself was to be at Warren, Mass., on Wednesday evening, but of his subsequent appointments he did not inform us.

S. S. and A. K. Foster, we learn by a private letter are to attend a Convention in Winchester, Ct. to meet Mr. Mr. May and his company.

☞ Since the above was in type we have received the notices which may be found in another column.

John M. Barrett.

We have received the first two numbers of a little seven-by-nine sheet entitled *The Crisis*, and bearing the imprint of Cincinnati, New York, Philadelphia, but without the name of either publisher or editor. All that we learn from its own columns about itself is, that it is published monthly and circulated gratuitously. It appears, however, to be the organ of an association at Cincinnati—where it is printed—called The Philadelphon, but who are the members of that body does not appear, though probably information on that point would be welcome in South Carolina. The Philadelphon, judging from the columns of the Crisis, exercises the same sort of influence in that State, that a wilful lad with a long pole may in a hornet's nest. The second number contains a translation of the enigmatical letters to Barrett which were found on him by the Committee of Safety of Spartanburgh. One of them is signed B. R. W., which initials, we take it, stand for William R. Brisbane, and certainly establishes the fact that the writer expected assistance from Barrett in some plan of his own, and in circulating documents of some sort in South Carolina. How far this must have been with Barrett's consent the reader can judge from that gentleman's own statement which we copy from *The Crisis* as follows:

LETTER FROM J. M. BARRETT.

Mr. Barrett, by request, addressed a meeting of citizens at the Vine street Congregational Church in Cincinnati, on Monday evening, Oct. 29th. The notice was too short for him to make any preparation for the occasion; but he gave an exposition of the political condition of South Carolina, and a narrative of his operations and imprisonment in that State. We were rather pleased that he spoke mildly of his persecutors, and that he expressed himself in no bitter terms against those who had injured him. The substance of his address is given in the following communication for this paper:

Mr. Editor:—It is known that I was incarcerated in South Carolina under suspicion of having circulated obnoxious documents in that State, and that more fantastic capers were cut, and more furious demonstrations made on account of this suspicion, by some of her lunatic population, than if a hostile fleet had menaced her shore. I propose, therefore, to give a precise statement of this affair.

At the time of my arrest, I was making a tour through the south for the recovery of my health, and was at the same time connected as an agent in the publication of a Gazetteer, which business I pursued with very considerable interruption during my whole tour in the State. Every paper found with me at the time of my arrest, and every letter then in my possession, proved conclusively the truth of the above statement, according to the admission of *The Spartan*, June 14th, whilst my own conduct at the various points I visited, will amply corroborate the whole. In relation to the documents, I found them in general circulation when I entered the state in May last, and the "Safety Committee" seemed terribly frightened about them, without seeming able to account for their origin, whilst strangers in the country were suspected. At Anderson, and other points, I shared the common fate of strangers in the country, and underwent the indignities of a very chivalric examination; but there not appearing the slightest evidence against me in relation to those documents, I was suffered to proceed until I reached Spartanburgh, when on the 9th day of June last, I was violently thrust into prison.

I cannot here detail all the circumstances attending my arrest, but will add, that a few moments after I had entered the place I was met at my hotel by the Post Master, attended by a concourse of people in one simultaneous mass, who demanded that I should expose the contents of two letters, only two, that bore my address, and which the Post Master held in his hand. I took the letters; broke them open, and handed one of them to a man who announced himself as "President of the Safety Committee, and that it was his duty to see what my letters contained." I was proceeding to read the other myself, when the worthy dignitary snatched that from me also, and up to the present moment I have not been permitted to see either of the letters. One of them it seems was anonymous, and contained three copies of the Brutus document, enveloped and addressed, and I was requested by the writer to drop them into some post office. The other contained a passage intimating that I held Anti-Slavery sentiments. The first entire, and the objectionable portion of the latter letter, have been published, in which may be seen not a word is intimated, as has been said, that I had connection either as agent, or otherwise, with any Anti-Slavery association in existence. And I here pronounce every statement of the kind untrue: made without foundation, and for the most malignant purposes. Nor can a Carolian show the contrary, by any plausible means whatever. With the letters the worthy President was not satisfied. They only incresed his anxiety for further search. A dream of immortality seemed to cross him; something whispered him that he might "write his name in glory's page," by making a Major Andre case of it. He therefore demanded a peep into my boots, afterward my pockets and portfolio, which I granted: but in none of them, not even in the boots, was found the least evidence against me, whilst my letters and papers, as before observed, showed me to have been travelling for a worthy purpose. His Honor's hopes of glory fell somewhat. Yet he took every letter and paper from me, and a short time afterward in the Court House, before a furious multitude, himself and others made the most violent and fanatical speeches I ever heard, against me, and when I attempted a reply, was deprived the benefit of my papers—ordered to be quick—and finally stopped; when a vote was taken, which decided to cast me into prison. I should have added, that a letter and affidavit from a Dr. Fitch of Columbia, was also shown. The letter contained a false statement or two of little moment, whilst the affidavit affirmed, upon the solemn oath of the deponent, that he really did believe, and that he had cause to believe, that the said J. M. Barrett was an Abolitionist. Neither the letter or affidavit imputed to me any violation of the law, either in circulating documents or otherwise, and were admitted by the justice who committed me, and many others, to contain nothing in the law against me. And I will add, I staid in Columbia, S. C., some ten days, and if suspected, it was without foundation; and the affidavit of Dr. Fitch, were it published, would only exhibit the weak, fanatical, suspicious character of certain Carolinians, and whose tyranny would punish even strangers in their country, suspected of liberal sentiments. But the foregoing is a full statement of the showing made against me on the day of my arrest, and if it be not a violation of the laws of South Carolina for a citizen of a distant state to be suspected of Anti-Slavery sentiments the showing amounted to nothing, more than that these Brutus documents were found in an anonymous letter in Spartanburgh, bearing my address, and upon which I was cast into prison for circulating incendiary matter.

But it has been said: "evidence has accumulated!" Near three weeks after my arrest a package was forwarded to me from Charlotte, N. C., which contained, it is said, several copies of the Brutus document, closely enveloped and addressed as were the former three, and I was requested to drop them into some post-office. Also, at various other times after my imprisonment, letters of a singular and absurd character have come to myself and various other persons in that vicinity. These letters are all anonymous; some of them are written in a singular and perplexing manner; and their statements are highly absurd and farcical. They do not pretend to implicate myself, or any one else, in violations of the law, either in circulating documents, or otherwise, and I apprehend would find little attention among any but an excited and fanatical population. Yet abolition Hydras and Gorgons were discovered in them, in terrible abundance, and they were all taken and published in the journals, with furious and malignant comments to excite the country, and give a coloring to the absurd cruelties practised upon me because of them. It must be evident to every man of sense, that if even these letters charged me with the blackest crimes, they could not constitute the slightes legal evidence against me. The principle that would hold me in prison, and attempt to make me answerable for a lot of absurd, anonymous and farcical letters addressed to myself and others, is found in the code of tyrants only, and if admitted into our courts of justice, would render the Post Office an engine of destruction to the lives and characters of the best citizens, in the hands of any base enough to use it, and more sure and deadly in its operation than the midnight assassin. Besides, if all who have documents and letters of a similar character addressed to them, in the country, were cast into prison, I would have had some of the most dignified characters of the land to bear me company in my dungeon.

The foregoing is every particle of evidence. In relation to my own conduct, it has not appeared, nor cannot appear, by any means whatever, that I circulated documents of any kind, or violated a law of South Carolina in any way. Prior to my arrest, I made a tour through a part of the State, and it is true was suspected, and even examined in relation to the documents, at several points. In this, however, as very many others can bear me witness, I only shared the common fate of nearly all strangers in the country. When in each district a set of men who term themselves a "Safety Committee," have proclaimed themselves "above the law," and consequently form what other countries call "mobs," and who make it their especial business to scrutinize strangers, in so much that I apprehend no one, not even Governor Ford from Ohio, could pass through Carolina at the present time without being suspected, examined, and possibly Lynched by some of these sturdy veterans on the watch-towers of Slavery.

Now the very fact of my having run the gauntlet of these "Safety Committees," and having passed unscathed their rude assaults until I reached Spartanburg, is the clearest evidence that I had not been violating their barbarous laws. In addition, after my arrest, almost every step I had made in the State was traced with the keen avidity of men intent uppon fastening some offence upon me; almost every word I spoke was carefully canvassed and examined, and the most malicious falsehoods circulated; still not a particle of testimony "accumulated" that I circulated documents of any kind within the State.

The whole case against me, then, (since there is not, nor cannot be the least legal evidence in the letters that have been published with such terrible gusto,) rests upon the simple fact, that two packages of the Brutus documents came to me at Spartanburg. (There is not a particle of evidence that one ever came to me at any other point in South Carolina.) One of which, forwarded from Charlotte, North Carolina, it is well known there, was sent into the State without my knowledge or consent, whilst the other it is merely suspected, was sent me upon some prior agreement of my own. This, then, is mine only offence, my terrible outrage upon the "peace and welfare" of Carolina, that some anonymous correspondent, whose conduct I could not of course control, sent me three Brutus documents, not one of which I ever laid my hands upon. For this offence I was rigously imprisoned all summer, in bad health; perfidiously denied the benefit of bail, and prevented the resort to the Habeas Corpus, the dearest right of an American or English freeman, and my life threatened, by a lawless mob. At the same time every means, however infamous, was used, to inflame the worst passions of the populace against me. *The Spartan*, and other petty prints of the country, with all the characteristic venom little imps have, descended into the very dregs of defamation, their natural element, and brought up, upon their political columns, some of the most infamous, together with the meanest and most filthy falsehoods that ever disgraced a Public Journal. Thus with a fiendish malice* *The Spartan* has attempted to create the impression that I had committed some crime, the penalty of which is death "without the benefit of the clergy," and announced in this connection that I am "a notorious Abolitionist and connected with a secret clan called the P. H. S., a foul set of conspirators, seeking to sow insurrection in our midst by their enigmatical correspondence." This P. H. S., I apprehend, is the mere progeny of some precocious imagination, laboring under wild excitement, and has not a "local habitation and a name," further than has been gratuitously assigned it. Neither *The Spartan*, nor any of its lunatics or satelites, can shew me to have connection with such an organization, whilst any thing above a lunatic ought to see the absurdity of attempting an insurrection by engimatical letters. But "a notorious Abolitionist." If this were true, is the fact any violation of the laws of South Carolina? How dare she imprison me on account of my sentiments? The days of Inquisition are partly passed; the time when men could be imprisoned, flayed and burned for opinions' sake, are remembered only as tyrants are remembered, in disgust and horror. A brighter sun has risen and scattered the mists of barbarism sufficiently out of Carolina, to allow men to think for themselves. I am an American citizen, and have a right to my opinions; a right to carry them with me even into the kingdom of Mr. Calhoun, and the very fact of offering as a reason for my apprehension that I am an Abolitionist, only exhibits more clearly the servile tyranny of casting me into prison. I am indeed a true friend to the rights of man—loyally and proudly Anti-Slavery in my sentiments—and for the future hope ever to be ready to assist in breaking the chains of that oppression which would bind to the earth both white and black.

I only recur to my principles in showing the tyranny in connection with the vile aspersions that have been cast upon me. In addition to the exertions of the press, whose slanders I cannot further notice, public meetings have been held, the populace harangued in the most violent manner, against incendiaries and Northern aggression, and furious resolutions passed, denouncing as traitors to their country those who show me favor. Thus are the people to be aroused against the day of trial. The jury, as a patriotic duty, and under fear of being denounced as traitors to their country, are if possible to be driven to pronounce me guilty, regardless of law or evidence; and thus I am, if possible to be rushed through the forms of law, convicted upon public prejudice, fined in a heavy sum, and stripped of the dearest rights of a freeman, for circulating incendiary matter, without the least evidence that I ever circulated matter of any kind.

Note. It is but just that I should mention, there are in Carolina those who, whilst they are loyally Southern in their sentiments and feelings, as any of those flaming patriots, do not join them in their absurd and unjust proceed

Sir, with great natural advantages of soil, climate, water power, mineral production, and sea board position, South Carolina might now have been a highly prosperous and wealthy State. Why is she not so? Why should she not be as prosperous as Massachusetts? What is there in the natural position and condition of Massachusetts to give her superiority over South Carolina? You well know, sir, that in every respect, the natural sources of wealth and progress are in favor of Carolina. And yet Massachusetts is so far ahead in her aggregate prosperity, and in the physical comforts of the mass of her population, that it must make any intelligent Carolinian ashamed to glance at the statistics of the two States. Her splendid cities, her elegant towns, her beautiful villages, her charming country seats, testify to the comfort and the refinement of her whole population. Her railroads, making a net work of the State, her palace-like factories, her commercial depots, her ships, her intercourse with the world, are proofs that a poor and rocky soil, and a cold climate, are not insurmountable barriers to prosperity and greatness. Her system of universal education, her high schools, academies, colleges, lyceums, observatories, libraries; her eminent scholars and great statesmen; these make her so pre-eminent, and I blush when I have to contrast her with my native State; and I confess, sir, I feel indignant that such intellect as you possess, should have been all your time employed in the struggle to sustain a policy bringing only disaster and ruin wheresoever it prevails. Look at Carolina, far behind the free States of the North, in all that essentially contributes to the elevation of mind as well as physical comfort, and weep, sir, over her barren fields, her wasted water power, her commercial indolence, and more than these, her unimproved mind. You ought to weep tears of deep penitence and profound anguish, ere you bid adieu to the people you have wronged, and the State you have almost irrecoverably ruined.

There was a time, sir, when I listened to you as the ancient worshippers listened to the far famed oracle of Delphi. Your great intellect and your social qualities captivated my youthful heart, and I thought you must be right. But when I looked around, in maturer years, to see the results of your influence, I discovered that I had been the disciple of a perverted genius, and a deluded and deluding statesman. I see the soil that gave me birth so worn out, that I cannot even exclaim with Byron,

"Thy very weeds are beautiful;"

for it is now to poor to raise even a crop of thistles. I see my countrymen's sons and daughters growing up in ignorance, for the want of a common school system, by which the poor child may stand on the same platform with the wealthy. I see the people oppressed with burdensome militia trainings and patrols to guard the peculiar interests of the privileged few. I read legislative enactments to suppress the liberty of the tongue and of the pen, and I see the people so completely hoodwinked by demagogues and partizan brawlers, that they become unconsciously the instruments of perpetuating their own grievances. And seeing these things I resolve, with the help of God, I shall do my part towards liberating my countrymen from the power of an arrogant oligarchy.

I am fully aware that the whole power of the present State authorities would be in readiness to crush me, were I to attempt to address my fellow citizens by a public announcement of my humble self. There is not a press in this State that dare publish anything for the true interests of the Yeomanry of the country. You and your partizans will not allow a Free Press within the limits of the State. It is your settled policy to keep, what you are pleased to consider the lower classes in a state of ignorance. You know, sir, that this is true. While you are all pretending great love and regard for the people, and will coax and fondle them with soft and tender phrases, and tickle their vanity whenever you can, you know that it is your fixed determination that they shall be kept ignorant of the true source of their wretched condition, and powerless to redress the wrongs you inflict upon them. What, therefore, must be done to meet this state of things, and to concentrate the energies of the people for their own true interests? Obviously we must seek a Free Press elsewhere, and obtain the assistance of citizens of other States, to print and circulate our addresses to the people. And, sir, if you can control the administration of the Federal Government to establish such an espionage over the Post Offices of the country as to prevent the circulation of open papers, we intend to drive you also to the necessity of breaking seals and violating private correspondence before you shall close the mails against us. We shall have agents in the largest cities of the Union to prepay letter postage on our communications; and thus by sealed envelopes place into the hands of our friends in every neighborhood a sufficient number of our small tracts to distribute among the most intelligent of those it is customary to designate as *poor people*. We intend thus to inform them on those points best calculated to raise them above the condition of "*poor people*." And I am happy to know that there are not a few in the State who sympathize in this movement, and we design to take measures for obtaining the combined influence of all true patriots in promoting such reforms in the State as will give political equality and censure to every man his just and honest rights.

Among the reforms we seek I shall here enumerate a few:

1. Representatives must be without property qualifications.
2. The election of the Governor of the State, and of the Judiciary, and of the Electors of President of the United States must be given to the people.
3. We must break up free schools for the poor, and have common schools for rich and poor together, sustained out of the public funds.
4. Domestic manufactures must be encouraged, and thereby means provided by which the poor can find adequate support.
5. Such a system of internal improvement should be projected as will give a fair distribution of advantages to all parts of the State.
6. Militia musters should be dispensed with.
7. The criminal code should be made more conformable to the spirit of the age.
8. The right of the people to discuss any question whatsoever, must be thoroughly guarded by law.

These are some of the points which we intend to trouble you upon; and your servile partizans may rave as much as they please, and threaten every stranger that comes within the limits of the State, if they chose so to do; and they may hang all the Yankee agents who are fools enough to come among a set of madmen, and we shall yet hold on our way, knowing there is a God who will finally break the rod of the oppressor, and bring to nought the counsels of the unjust.

Now, sir, you are warned what to expect. Be wise; and before you die take a position that will secure a blessing upon your memory.

I am, sir, although politically in opposition,
Yet, with personal respect,
Yours, JUNIUS.

Wanted, a White Slave.

We found a few days since, in one of our Southern exchanges, a hand-bill offering a reward for the recovery of some fugitive property, which advertisement we give the benefit of our circulation. The particular piece of lost goods for which this Mr. Dandridge is willing to give $40, is, we presume, only desirable for its intrinsic value in cotton-hoeing qualities, and that any other article of similar qualifications would answer his purpose equally well. On this presumption we have a suggestion to make. But first let us copy the handbill, which runs thus:

$40
REWARD.

I WILL give the above reward for the apprehension and delivery to me, or his confinement in any jail so that I can get him, of a mulatto boy, together with a large black mare mule, which he rode off. Said boy ran away on the 14th day of October 1849; is about twenty-two years old, weighs 175 or 80 pounds, is very white, has straight hair, and will probably attempt to pass for a white man or free mulatto. He rode off a fine saddle.

Any information respecting said boy and mule, can be communicated to me at Olive Branch Post Office, Desoto county, Miss.

C. F. DANDRIDGE.

Very white, and *straight* hair! The imposition would be, it strikes us, if this boy should attempt to pass for anything else but a white man. If 22 years, 180 pounds, a very white skin, and straight hair, all combined in human shape make a *black boy*, we should like to see a Southern description of what passes for a white man in that remarkable country.

An ordinary Northern white man, however, would answer very well as a substitute for this Southern black boy, and where so rare an opportunity offers for a situation it will not, we trust, remain long unfilled by some one of those excellent gentlemen who think the slave *so* much worse off than the white folks. Mr. Dandridge will, without doubt, receive any applicant of ordinary qualifications, and no questions probably would be asked by intermeddling neighbors of of the substitution of one man for another. How many Northern editors and white clergymen there are who would gladly jump at such a chance as this to better their condition! Brooks of the *Express* if he were not so stupid,—Bennett of the *Herald* if he were a little less wicked, for he has all the bad characteristics of the negro-slave—Webb of the *Courier*, only he is not white enough, and has too thick lips and too broad a nose to pass for a white man where he was liable to be suspected—Morse of the *Observer*, who would be unexceptionable, for he has served the slaveholders so long and so abjectly that to put him in a cotton-field would only be to change his position; and we are sure that he would soon be promoted to the dignity of driver, for it is the basest slaves that make the hardest task-masters—and many another in all our Northern towns and cities of whom these men are only types, and who like them have labored so many years to prove how happy is the condition of the Southern slave, may realize, with Mr. Dandridge's consent their happiest dreams. The whole North lies open to that gentleman for his choosing—the Church's pulpit, the editorial chair, the lawyer's desk, the merchant's counting house, the mechanic's workshop all have their unhappy occupants, who pity the ignorance of those fanatics, the Abolitionists, and commisserate the slaveholders that they cannot at the same time, be their own goods and chattels. Good Mr. Dandridge! make at least one happy Northerner, by choosing from among us one substitute for the ungrateful wretch who has taken advantage of the color of his skin and the straightness of his hair to plunge himself into irretrieveable wretchedness!

We had almost forgotten the mule: but Mr. Dandridge need loose nothing on that score. These Northern 'boys' that we commend to him are man and jackass all in one, which of course would be a saving to Mr. Dandridge.

☞ We have been called upon by WILLIAM SMITH, an intelligent young man from one of the Southern States, who is asking—as he might well say, for the love of the Virgin—aid, to enable him to ransom his sister Frances, a beautiful girl of 17 years, who, unless he can raise $600 to purchase her, will be sold for the South Western States and Market. William has purchased himself and his mother, but has not time to work out, in the sweat of his brow, the redemption of his sister, as the refusal granted him of her is limited. One thousand dollars have already been offered for her by a 'speculator,' who well knows the worth of a young girl, beautiful, intelligent, and nearly white in the shambles of New Orleans. God help our Northern Christianity that such things be! but will he appeal in vain to Northern humanity?

A meeting of the colored people of Brooklyn is to be held this—Thursday—evening, in his behalf, in the High street Church. We trust the call will not be in vain, but we are ashamed to say that a similar meeting for colored people held in this city on Monday evening was an entire failure. The ought and might raise such a sum to save a Southern sister from such a fate, in one week. They squander ten times the amount in a year in the nonesense of Odd Fellows' Regalia and other vain shows. A few cents apiece from them would purchase Frances Smith, but as yet her brother has only got a few dollars from Zion's Church. Those, whether white or colored, who will give nothing to the Anti-Slavery cause may compromise with their consciences by giving in such a case as this.

New Books.

Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall: Edited by Dr. William Darlington of West Chester, Pennsylvania.

The thanks not of Botanists only, but of the general reader are due to Dr. Darlington for this most racy book. 'Tis pleasant to see such ardent lovers of Nature riding their hobbies, through all difficulties, and over all discouragements, from youth to age—and to find them at length ambling side by side with the most distinguished Naturalists of their day. The delight with which Europeans received from them the specimens of Natural History—the eagerness with which they constantly cried 'more, more'—and their exultation when they had succeeded in naturalizing any of them in the Old World, are delightfully exhibited in their Correspondence with J. B. and H. M.

The work is published by Messrs. Lindsay and Blakston, Philadelphia.—

THE EDINBURG REVIEW. *October* 1849. *L. Scott & Co. Fulton st.*

The reputation of the 'Quarterly' will lose nothing by this No. for hardly any degree of mental culture exists that will not find in it something of fit and agreeable aliment. An able paper on Reason and Faith is the leading article and will be deemed a valuable contribution to their side of the question by those who maintain a conservative position on Theological questions. In another entitled Modern Poetry and Poets, a keen and searching analysis of the poetry of Tennyson. Keats, and Shelley, and of the poets themselves, is given, though the writer devotes himself chiefly to Tennyson, and his most enthusiastic admirers can hardly fail to be satisfied with the way in which he is handled. An exceedingly lucid and interesting statement of the construction, working and management of the electric Telegraph may be read with profit by scientific as well as the unscientific reader, and 'Statistics of Coal' is full of valuable information to everybody. 'Schools of Design' and 'Unsound Social Philosophy' are evidences, the first of how much the English Government does for the education in manufactures of her people, and the second that something more and better than the Malthusian philosophy of the writer is necessary for the cure of the pauperism of Great Britain.' 'Pepy's Diary' is a brief review of that book, but a very satisfactory sketch of the life of that Prince of Gossips. 'Agriculture and Science,' the only remaining article, is just what its title says it is, a valuable review of the present relation of each to the other.

THE WESTMINISTER REVIEW. *October. L. Scott & Co.* Did the present No. of the Westminister contain only its leading article that alone would stamp it as of the choicest character. The paper is entitled 'Human Progress,' and the subject is handled in the most masterly manner. Even the most conservative can hardly be offended with it as too fanciful, for its fancies are as graceful as its facts are incontrovertible. It deals with man as a physical being, claiming that the souls may be best looked after when the bodies are given them to dwell in. 'Thy kingdom come' is the prayer of the writer, and it needs only such hopeful and earnest spirits as his to ensure that the prayer be answered. It is a striking sign of the times that in these leading English Reviews Socialism in some sort is deemed a thing to be sought for, or at least a fact to be met, not a vision to be sneered at.—Jasmin, the hair-dresser poet of Agon is here, probably for the first time, introduced, in the second article, to many English readers, all of whom will regret that the writer did not give us something more of his poetry.—The Temperance people should thank the Westminster for a hearty lift, as we have now its high authority—from an article entitled 'A Sword or two on Port Wine—for saying that that favorite liquor of John Bull and not distasteful one to Brother Jonathan, is in its best imported estate but a dirty compound of elder-berries, treacle, and bad brandy.—We are promised in a brief introductory article, a series upon the extinction of Slavery, in which the writer promises to show that Negro Emancipation has been guided by an erring intelligence. We shall see in future numbers whether he is thinking of a few bankrupt planters or the 800 000 former slaves of the British West Indies. The usual review of Foreign Literature is contained in this No. of the Westminister, beside one or two political articles, and a paper upon Malthus, which we have not had time to glance at.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW. OCTOBER. Messrs. Scott & Co. have also issued their reprint of the London Quarterly, a copy of which we have just received. We have had time only to look at the table of contents which is as follows: Methodism in Wales; Fontenelle on the Signs of Death; Britannia and Conway Tubular Bridges; Peace Agitators; Knox Ornothological Rambles in Sussex; Tours in Ireland: and Rome.

Communications.

BOSTON, Oct. 31, 1849.

MR. GAY,—As E. Q. has not seen fit to notice my article, respecting the writ of *habeas corpus*, I must conclude he considers me in the right, and being a non-resistant he prefers taking the course to urge the separation of the States, rather than to force the South against their will, into the fulfilment of their bargain to make these United States the abode of liberty. Though, for myself, I must confess, I think it would be much better for all concerned that those 113,000, or at the most, 300,000 slaveholders, should succumb to the 20,000,000 of people in this country, than that it should be divided into a parcel of little petty republics, or aristocracies or kingdoms, requiring a man every time he should put his head out of his front door to exhibit a passport to enable him to walk the streets, as it is at present the case in Europe. I dont believe our people will submit to have their *deeds* examined every time they want to go to New York, or Philadelphia, or Washington, or even to Charleston, however chivalrous or great a State it may be in its own estimation, just to gratify such a small number of slaveholders. Do you suppose the country would submit to the dictation of the people of city the New York, and because they would not, the advantages of this union (always barring Slavery) must be broken up? And yet there are not so many slaveholders in this country, as there are people in your city. No; I think not. They would say our mountains, our rivers, and our vallies were not designed to be so divided. What could Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the other great Western States do without the mouth of the Mississippi? Will the people of New England do without the priviledge of emigrating? I, for one, think not. They never have done without it; they never will. If Slavery should attempt to set up such a barrier they would crush it by their ponderous tread. They have fought, bled and *died*, too much for this glorious land of *liberty*, to be confined now in such narrow limits; their *destiny* is onward, and if we can get the principle established, so that all should understand it, that this government is bound not to go into a State to make laws for a State, but is bound to exercise such a control of the laws of a State as to prevent that State from enslaving any of its citizens, and from punishment, without crime, as she now feels herself bound to protect us in our liberty, speech, and the exercise of our religious duties, then we might go on and annex the whole creation without fear, provided it could be done with the consent of all parties; and we should then have a glorious and free country, with ample space to go where and when we please, and to make such improvements in society as may be thought best, and, in fact, to work out a destiny as has scarcely yet been conceived of by any of the human race.

—But you will think that I am giong into the clouds, and I will stop while I may. E. Q. and J. C. Calhoun, should remember that the Yankees are making a flying machine, and consequently when that is completed New England and the State of South Carolina will be found to be such near neighbors, it will not be considered a circumstance to breakfast in Boston and sup in Charleston. Why, now they begin to talk of going from Boston to the White mountains and back again before breakfast: why, we can already send messages to them and get answers back in as short a time as it takes to write an ordinary letter.

—The idea of separating the States is preposterous: when we can can get judges on the Bench of the United States Court, who are not in their daily walks acting treasonably to the constitution of their country, Slavery will disappear from among us like dew before the rising sun, leaving not a trace behind.

Yours, G. W. F. M.

Foreign Correspondence.

Letter from Paris.

PARIS, Oct. 31, 1849.

DEAR MR. GAY,—I find the enclosed article in *La Reforme*, the journal of Lamenais, and hasten to translate it for the *Standard*, without a word of comment, knowing how much satisfaction it will give your readers to have intelligence of the welfare of an absent friend, while at the same time they are reading an admirably told story. If Napoleon could hear it he need not turn to the shade of his great story-teller to say, "*Denon conte sons cela*,"—as he was wont to do when any one in his presence "Marred a curious tale in telling." Your friend,

MARIA W. CHAPMAN.

HARTWELL HOUSE.—HOSPITALITY.

In the beginning of the month of September last I was in London, leaning on the sill of the Sash-window (whoever has seen one knows the construction of the guillotine,) sadly watching the funeral processions as they passed, for the cholera was then raging. I had just been reading in the newspapers their frightful report of the deaths of the preceding day, and their recommendations of a season of public fasting and prayer, that God would cause the scourge to be stayed. I gazed after the last hearse, thinking, meanwhile, of all whom this mournful vehicle had borne to their long home during the last few months alone. Young maidens, who smiled on the eve as they thought of the morrow, —mothers, whom the scourge swept away from the love of their children,—young men, full of hope, talent, and perchance of genius,—old men, whom the bullets had spared on fields of battle,—all had passed in turn to this funeral car. Beauty, love knowledge, glory, courage, and genius, all had reached, at length, that bourne that makes all equal —the tomb!

I was aroused from these reflections by the arrival of a friend who brought me an invitation from Dr. Lee to pass a few days with him.

Who is Dr. Lee? I inquired. Dr. Lee, he replied, is one of the best informed and most amiable men in England. He is the owner of Hartwell. This name of Hartwell awoke remembrances in my mind which were, I know not wherefore, in perfect harmony with the thoughts which the arrival of my friend had interrupted. I told him I should be most happy to make the acquaintance of Dr. Lee, and we set out together.

Two hours afterwards, thanks to the railroad, we arrived at Aylesburg. Not far from thence stands Hartwell House, gracefully situated in the midst of a charming landscape. You reach it by a green road overshadowed by great trees, and crossed here and there by streamlets over which rustic hedges have been thrown. From the highest of the numerous undulations on this route we saw four banners, the colors of France, England, the United States, and Sweden floating over the roof of the edifice. These were the colors of the nations to which belonged the persons invited. Dr. Lee received us with that admirable courtesy which one generally finds among Englishmen of distinction. Several guests had already arrived, among whom we recognized with pleasure a fugitive slave, William Brown, whom we had already seen in Paris and in London, whose uncommon intelligence had much impressed us. The Doctor did the honor of his Mansion with a grace peculiar to himself, giving us with the utmost complaisance every explanation that we desired. It would be impossible to enumerate the objects of every description, which he has collected in this spacious abode. He has borrowed of every century something of the remains which its stream has floated downwards to posterity, from Antediluvian fossils to pictures of the great masters of this last century; from the mummies and deformed idols of Egypt, to the living portraits of Vandyke. Art, science, literature, religion, all has its place in this great vocabulary of which every word is a Souvenir. We stopped a long time in the Library, unrolling precious pages over which meandered the Sanscrit, in characters to us unintelligible, in opening manuscript Bibles splendidly illuminated, where the wonderful labor would seem to have exacted more than one man's life time; in turning over the books of jurisprudence, geography, history, botany, medals and poetry, written in all languages, and filling one entire story of the building. When the hour of dinner arrived we had hardly seen all. We then descended, passing through the observatory, where the Doctor passes a part of his nights in studies most valuable to science. Strange thoughts came into my mind while seating myself at the table where, the proscribed Louis XVIII had eaten the bread of hospitality, as I saw close by the venerable head of Dr. Lee, the dark face of Brown the slave. A sort of relation instantly established itself among all the things that I had just seen. It seemed to me as if time had cast these wrecks of ages one by one upon this hospitable threshold, as the ocean casts its foam upon the shore. First the remains of remote antiquity,—the gross idols of Paganism, those embryos of the religious idea; then those holy books ornamented with vignettes half profane, half mystical, perfect emblems of that confused epoch that we call the Middle Ages—then works of genius, the wrecks of the *Renaissance*; then the philosophies of the last century; then again the fallen thrones, ruins of old Royalty; and at last a broken chain, representing this age of light and Liberty.

Brown related to us some passages of his unhappy experience. Born of a slave mother, whom he saw more than once cruelly whipped under his eyes, he dreamed of Liberty as one does of happiness. At length he fled without knowing whither. It needs his energetic account, his glowing words, to paint the dangers he encountered in his flight. Hunger, misery and death awaited him at every step. What mattered it? he was free. "Well," said he to us, in terminating his recital, "after all that I have suffered at the hands of this civilation which has denied me all things, even the name of man, which has torn me from the arms of my mother to deliver me up to the whip of the overseer, now that I am free, I wish to remember it no more. I would fain forget all these sufferings. Men have given me only hatred and persecution. I give them in return only love."

These words moved us deeply. With overflowing hearts we pressed the hand he held out to us.

To divert the sad images that the narration of Mr. Brown had raised Dr. Lee proposed to us to visit the apartments that Louis XVIII., King of France, *in partibus*, had occupied with his train, composed of more than a hundred persons. It was in fact a little kingdom, the only one over which the fugitive brother of Louis XVI. had still power. He came, one day, to Hartwell and the Lee who was then proprietor, said to him, "Prince, this abode is yours." From that moment the Court was established there. Here was the chamber of the King; there that of the Queen; further on those of the Count d'Artois, of the Duke de Berry, of the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, of M. de Talleyrand-Peregord Arche Véque de Reims; all found their places a little straitened for room perhaps, but one must put the best face against misfortune; and then it was to be only for a day or so. That day lasted six years The light partitions hastily put up, and which made all these chambers resemble those tents that travellers set up for a night's shelter, began to give way. They watched with anxiety for the Bulletins, which came all too slowly announcing the defeats of the *usurper*. Each night as he turned to sleep the illustrious exile murmured to himself, 'Tomorrow, doubtless, I shall be king!" At length the day so much desired arrived. The allies were in Paris! The throne of the Capets was established.

In quitting Hartwell the king invited his generous host to taste in his turn, the hospitality of the Tuileries. Lee accepted the invitation. Some time afterwards he set out on his journey; but as he was old and feeble he travelled slowly. At length, on the 19th of March, in the evening, he reached the Tuileries. He observed great tumult: he met multitudes of persons coming out. He thought it was a fete. It was a departure. It was a return into exile. When Dr. Lee had finished the recital of this journey of his predecessor. it was already late. We were fatigued and asked leave to retire. Each of us became the occupant of one of the chambers of the illustrious exiles. I was conducted to that of the Queen, or rather the Countess de Provence, who died in 1810. Only one person had since slept in this chamber where that princess had slept during her last nights. That person was Gustavus Adolphus IV., who, driven into exile in his turn, had come to take refuge with the proscribed tenant of Hartwell-House.

When I had reached my lonely chamber night had entirely fallen around. The centennial trees of the park whose tops were still faintly touched by the last gleam of twilight, were darkly painted against a stormy sky. It was the hour for remembrances, and I did not lack them. But there were always two figures which took the lead of all those that passed and re-passed in my train. The slave and the King who had both sought this same abode, one flying from his subjects, the other from his master. Now, by a singular chance the slave slept in the very bed where the King had watched. The American negro laid his shoulders, still marked by the whip of the master, in the same place where the descendant of the Capets, the grand-son of Louis XIV., had passed his nights of sleepless sorrow. The fugitive slave placed his dark feet on the cushions where, after having been recalled to the throne, Louis of France leaned to receive the congratulations of the courtiers. But the hospitable host saw no distinction between the slave and the King. He saw in them two men, two brothers, whom God had sent to him.

While my mind was filled with these thoughts I examined all the portraits suspended upon the walls. First there was Louis XV! He died upon the scaffold. Then Louis the XVII. who died in prison at the Temple, Louis Antoine-Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, shot at Vincennes. The Duke de Berry, assassinated. Louis, Joseph de Bourbon Prince de Condé, whose death was so strange. Charles Philippe de France, Charles X. for a day, died in exile. The duke d'Angoulême, died in exile. Gustavus Adolphus IV., of Sweden, died in exile. Lastly, Josephine de Savoie, Countess de Provence, died at Hartwell house. Thus all those who have inhabited this seat having somewhat of power to regain, some shred of purple to receive, and of whom the portraits remain here, have died either on the scaffold, beneath the blow of the assassin, or in exile in a foreign land. Great God! How fine a thing is Royalty!

General Intelligence.

The Election.

The result of the election in this State is as follows:

Freeborn G. Jewitt, of Onondaga, Judge of Appeals;
Washington Hunt, of Niagara, Controller;
Christopher Morgan, of Cayuga, Secretary of State;
Levi S. Chatfield, of Otsego, Attorney General;
Alvah Hunt, of Chenango, Treasurer;
Frederick Follett, of Genesee, Canal Commissioner;
Hezekiah C. Seymour, of Rockland, State Engineer;
Darius Clark, of St. Lawrence, Prison Inspector.

The new Legislature divides as follows:

	Senate.	Assembly.	Joint Ballot
Whig	17	63	80
Opposition	15	65	80

COL. JAMES WATSON WEBB, we (*Tribune*) understand, has been tendered the post of Chargé d'Affaires to the Court of Naples, but declines it.

Three negroes ran away from their owners, in St. Louis, a few days ago, and were arrested in Illinois and returned to their masters. They made several attempts to escape. The man who assisted them is a free negro, who it is said will be sent to the Penitentiary to expiate his offence.

Cheering from Hull.—The "model city" remains true as steel—and so, of course, with the Commonwealth. The vote this year is what the Hullonions call "light," what ever it may be called elsewhere. The Whig vote has fallen off from 27 to 24, which is a decl ne of 2-1-4 per cent. The democratic vote has fallen off from 4 to 3, which is a decline of 25 per cent; and the Free Soil vote has fallen off from one to 0. which is a decline of 100 per cent, or the sinking of the whole capital. All attempt at coalition in Hull has been completely frustrated by the overwhelming preponderance of genuine Whig principles.—*Boston Courier.*

The Round Island Affair.—We learned, while in Mississippi, that quite a sharp correspondence had taken place between Governor Matthews and the General Government, in relation to the proceedings of Commander Randolph, in the blockade of Round Island. We were also informed that the Governor had sent the Attorney-General of the State down to Jackson County to take legal proceedings against the legal officers, if they persisted in their illegal interference with State rights. We state these facts entirely on hearsay. Whatever course the Governor of Mississippi may have taken—of this fact we are personally cognizant that it was the intention of Governor Johnson of this State, to resist with all the power of the State, any attempts on the part of the naval authorities to extend their aggressions into the territory of Louisiana.—*N. O. Delta.*

Married.

On the 25th of July last, at sea, in north latitude 20 30. west longitude 117, on board the brig Georgiana, from New York to San Francisco, WM. W. CORLIES, late of this city, in the 31st year of his age.

In Boston, 13th instant, at the residence of Hon. C. A. Warren Mrs. EUNICE W. HEDGE, widow of the late B. Hedge, Esq. of Plymouth, 77.

At Meadville, Pa., on the 2d instant, Mrs. MARIA T. YATES, wife of Charles M. Yates, M. D., and sister of the Honorable James Buchanan.

At Louisville, Kentucky, on the 26th ultimo, Mrs. SARAH B., wife of Reverend John H. Haywood, aged 25.

Died.

In Plymouth, Massachusetts, 5th instant, Reverend GEORGE W. BRIGGS and Miss LUCIA J. RUSSELL, daughter of Nathaniel Russell.

In this city on Monday morning, November, 19, at 4 o'clock, WILLIAM H. ATTREE, a well known reporter of the city press.

In Boston, November 6, Mr. JOHN WILEY, of the firm of Coolidge and Wiley, Printers and Publishers of the Massachusetts Quarterly Review and the Boston Almanac, aged 30.

At San Francisco, September 28th, Mr. GEORGE FREDERICK WARE, son of the Reverend Henry Ware, D.D., and a graduate of Harvard College in 1838.

In London, by suicide, Mr. JAMES MILLAR, late of the United States of America.

At Singapore, on the 3rd of May last, Mrs. GUTZALAFF, wife of the Chinese Secretary of H. B. M. Government at Hong Kong.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR

THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR will be open in *Faneuil Hall* on the morning of *Monday the the 24th of December*, at 10 o'clock. We give this notice thus early, that all articles now in preparation may be sent in season, and that the friends of the Cause may the more conveniently make their arrangements. Ladies intending to furnish a table are requested to give notice of the same to the Committee, at as early a date as possible. Donations of Articles or Money may be sent to either of the Committee, or left in the care of S. H. Gay, A. S. Office, New-York, or R. F. Wallcut, A. S. Office, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

In behalf of the Committee,
A. W. WESTON.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

will lecture at the Congregational meeting house in Hingham, Mass., on Sunday, November 25th, in the forenoon and afternoon, at the usual time of public services. In the evening, he will deliver an address in the Town Hall at Hingham Centre

BARNSTABLE COUNTY CONVENTION.

An Anti-Slavery Convention, for the Cape, will he held at HYANNIS, on Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 8 and 9.—Further particulars, as to speakers, place of meeting, &c., will be given as soon as arrangments are known. Will the friends on the Cape prepare for a full and efficient meeting?

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.
General Agent Mass. A. S Society.

LITCHFIELD COUNTY (CONN.) CONVENTION.

An Anti-Slavery Convention, for the Northern part of Litchfield County, Connecticut, and the Southern part of Berkshire County, will be held probably at WINSTED, on Saturday and Sunday, November 24 and 25, commencing on Saturday evening, at 6 1-2 o'clock.

Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire, *Charles C. Burleigh* of Connecticut, and *Lucy Stone* of Massachusetts, may be expected to attend this meeting.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS Two or more agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will visit the Western part of the State, and holds meetings there, during the month of November, according to appointments hereafter to be announced. Communications from any of our friends in Western Massachusetts may be sent to the undersigned, at Springfield, care of E. D. Hudson.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
General Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

☞ SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and LUCY STONE, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings at North Dennis, Barnstable County, on Saturday evening and Sunday, December 1 and 2; and in other towns in that vicinity during the week following.

☞ *Parker Pillsbury, C. C. Burleigh* and *Lucy Stone*, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in North Cavaan, Norfolk, and Winchester, (Winsted Village,) Connecticut, from Thursday 22nd, to Monday 26th instant.

CLARKSON ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION!

A stated meeting of this Association will be held a West Grove Friends meeting house, Pa. on Seventh day the 24th inst., at 11 o'clock, A. M.

A. PRESTON, Sec.

SIXTEENTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The Committee of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, deeply feeling their responsibility to the holy cause of Freedom and Humanity with which they are identified, have resolved anew to make their exertions for its promotion correspond with the greatness of its demands and the rapidity of its progress.

It is unnecessary at this late day to enter upon any formal exposition of the principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the support of which the funds resulting from this effort are devoted. The language of our last year's Call will express better than any other our present convictions of its necessity and value. "Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party: and speaking as it does from a heigh above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. ....It has no local attachments, no sectarian or partisan partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose." With this Society in a word, rests the hope of the American Slave. Its continuance and increased success, the numbr eot its agents and the circulation of its periodicals depend greatly on the amount of funds which we through this yearly effort are enabled to place at is disposal

We regard the importance of the American Anti-Slavery Society as paramount to that of any other Anti-Slavery organization, and of course its claims for help and sympathy paramount to those of any other. Boston and its environs indeed supply us with a market, but with a trifling exception barely sufficient to remunerate the expense of Anti-Slavery advertisements, not a cent of our receipts are expended in Massachusetts. In sustaining the Cause in her own borders, she asks no aid from beyond them, but relies entirely on her own efforts.

These being our circumstances, we appeal to Abolitionists EVERYWHERE, earnestly invoking of each aid and assistance proportionate alike to the dignity and necessity of the work we have undertaken. We are labouring for the establishment of those foundation principles on which the rights of all men must of necessity rest. Therefore to *All* we appeal in confident reliance on that common human heart whose unsophisticated instincts furnish our best hope of success.

The Sixteenth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar will be held in Boston during Christmas week, and all desiring to cooperate with us are requested to communicate with the undersigned.

Anne Warren Weston,
M. W. Chapman,
Eliza L. Follen,
Ann T. G. Phillips,
Susan C. Cabot,
Catherine Sargeant,
Henrietta Sargeant,
Thankful Southwick,
Harriet B. Hall,
Francis Mry Robbins
Caroline Weston,
Eliza F. Eddy,
Caroline F. Williams,
Lydia Parker,
Sarah N. Southwick
Louisa Loring,
Mary May,
Sarah S. Russell,
Ann R. Bramhall,
Helen E. Garrison,
Maria Lowell,
Abby Francis,
Harriet T. White,
Mary Gray Chapman,
Sarah B. Shaw,
Evelina A. S. Smith,
Hannah Tufts,
Harriet M. Palmer,
Mary Willey
Elizabeth Gay.

PENNSYLVANIA

Anti-Slavery Fair.

The return of the season for our sale prompts us to send forth the word of remembrance to our fellow-laborers in this department of Anti-Slavery work. The success of past years should cheer and incite us to vigorous effort for the present year.

So fully have the various *Circles* throughout our bounds identified themselves with us in this work, and so much of experience have the past years given us and them, that all which we consider now necessary to be done is to revert to the necessity of continued effort on the part of all who feel that to them must not come the folding of the hands, nor the repose of him whose labour is accomplished, while the slave is driven by the merciless task-master, and our brother continues weary and heavy laden.

We would earnestly invite the co-operation of all those who sympathize with the slave, and would help to overthrow a system at war with all the dearest rights of humanity, and the most holy relations of life.

We have been appointed by the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, a Committee to make arrangements for the Fair to be held the close of this year. Any persons wishing information may communicate with any member of the Committee.

Sarah Pugh,
Sarah A. M. Kim,
Huldah Justice,
Maria M. Davis,
Mary T. Stickney,
Emma Parker,
Rebecca Plumley,
Elizabeth Davis,
Janette Jackson,
Elizabeth Carman,
Martha Carman,
Margaret Jones,
A. Matilda Cassey,
Clementine G. Ruby,
Sarah T. Child,
Anna M. Child,
Anna M. Hopper,
Mary Grew,
Elizabeth Gay,
Hannah W. Haydock,
Theresa K. Hallowell,
Margaret A. Griscom,
Hannah L. Stickney,
Esther Reckless,
Gertrude H. Burleigh,
Emily A. Wmslow,
Harriet D. Purvis,
Margaretta Forten,
Elizabeth Clendenen,
Sarah M. Douglass
Mary Shaw,
Esther Hogeland,
Priscilla Luckens.

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Persons in all parts of the United States, wishing the cheapest, latest, and best works on Literature, Temperance, Slavery, Phrenology, Agriculture, Phonetics, or any of the reformatory subjects of the day, will find this as convenient a method of obtaining them as can be found. His arrangements with publishers are such as to enable him to furnish any publication in the New York market with the least possible delay.

Send in your orders to this office, addressed to
A. HONEYWELL,
142 Nassau st. N. Y.

The Globe:

A CONGRESSIONAL, AGRICTLTURAL, AND LITERARY NEWSPAPER.

THE approach of Congress calls out the Annual Prospectus of the GLOBE establishment.

The time is full of interest. The coming in of a new administration—the consequent broaching of a new policy touching the internal concerns of the country—the new and most important issues arising from the late vast accession to the public domain, and the great national objects associated with it—the impending difficulty in our relations with France, and the possible complication of our affairs with the troubles of Europe—conspire to create great expecation as to the proceedings of the next Congress. The approaching session will probably continue till late in the summer of 1850. The debates, from the agitation of so many questions of vital interest to the republic, will draw forth all the talent of the national legislature. To bring its deliberations home to the people, on each succeeding day, while measures are maturing, is, in effect, to bring the whole nation into council. The discussion, spreading from the Capitol to the remotest parts of the Union, forms a public opinion which re-acts upon Congress and controls its decisions.

To

GARDEN FANCIES.

II. SIBRANDUS SCHAFNABURGENSIS.

BY ROBERT BROWNING.

Plague take all pedants, say I!
He who wrote what I hold in my hand,
Centuries back was so good as to die,
Leaving this rubbish to bother the land;
This, that was a book in its time,
Printed on paper and bound in leather,
Last month in the white of a matin-prime
Just when the birds sang all together.

II.

Into the garden I brought it to read;
And under the arbute and laurestine
Read it, so help me grace in my need,
From title-page to closing line.
Chapter on chapter did I count,
As a curious traveller counts Stonehenge;
Added up the mortal amount;
And then proceeded to my revenge.

III.

Yonder's a plum-tree with a crevice
An owl would build in, were but he sage;
For a lap of moss, like a fine pont-levis
In a curtle of the middle age,
Joins to a lip of gum, pure amber;
When he'd be private, there might he spend
Hours alone in his lady's chamber:
Into this crevice I dropped our friend.

IV.

Splash went he, as under he ducked,
—I knew at the bottom rain-drippings stagnate;
Next a handful of blossoms I plucked
To bury him with, my bookshelf's magnate;
Then I went in-doors, brought out a loaf,
Half a cheese, and a bottle of Chablis;
Lay on the grass and forgot the oaf
Over a jolly chapter of Rabelais.

V.

Now, this morning, betwixt the moss
And gum that locked our friend in limbo,
A spider had spun his web across,
And sate in the midst with arms a-kimbo:
So I took pity, for learning's sake
And, *de profundis, accentibus latis*,
Cantate, quoth I, as I got a rake,
And up I fished his delectable treatise.

VI.

Here you have it, dry in the sun,
With all the binding all of a blister,
And great blue spots where the ink has run,
And reddish streaks that wink and glister
O'er the page so beautifully yellow—
Oh, well have the droppings played their tricks!
Did he guess how toadstools grow, this fellow?
Here's one stuck in his chapter six!

VII.

How did he like it when the live creatures
Tickled and toasted and browsed him all over,
And worm, slug, eft, with serious features,
Came in, each one for his right of trover;
When the water-beetle with great blind deaf face
Made of her eggs the stately deposit,
And the newt borrowed so much of the preface
As tiled in the top of his black wife's closet.

VIII.

All that life, and fun, and romping,
All that frisking, and twisting, and coupling,
While slowly our poor friend's leaves were swamping,
And clasps were cracking, and covers suppling!
As if you had carried sour John Knox
To the playhouse at Paris, Vienna, or Munich,
Fastened him into a front-row box,
And danced off with the Ballet with trowsers and tunic.

IX.

Come, old martyr! What, torment enough is it?
Back to my room you shall take your sweet self!
Good bye mother-beetle; husband-eft, *sufficit!*
See the snug niche I have made on my shelf:
A's book shall prop you up, B's shall cover you,
Here's C to be grave with, or D to be gay,
And with E on each side, and F right over you,
Dry-rot at ease till the Judgment day!

Miscellany.

JOHN HOWARD.

[CONCLUDED.]

A few of Howard's characteristics may be mentioned. He was naturally somewhat of a haughty temperament, plain and blunt in his manners, often apparently harsh,—but under this exterior was a heart as tender as a child's,—like the eider-down on the eagle's breast. With his second and darling wife he stipulated, previous to marriage, that in all matters in which there should be a difference of opinion between them, *his* voice should be the rule. Petty tyrants quailed before an eye as stern as it was mild. He spoke out as boldly to the king under the gilded roof of the palace as to the goaler in the loathsome cell. The imperious Catherine of Russia invited him, when in St. Petersburg, to court: he told the courtiers who waited on him that 'he had devoted himself to the task of visiting the dungeon o. the captive and the abode of the wretched, not the palaces and courts of kings and empresses, and that the limited time at his disposal would not permit his calling on her imperial majesty.' He peremtorily refused to meet the Austrian Emperor unless the servile custom of approaching the sovereign on bended knees was, in his case, dispensed with. The unfortunate Pope Pius VI. earnestly requested an interview which the stern Puritan and Republican would only consent to, on the condition that the absurd mark of homage, kissing the foot, and, indeed, every other species of ceremony, should be dispensed with. At parting, the venerable pontiff laid his hand upon the head of the heretic, saying, good humoredly, 'I know you Englishmen care nothing for these things, but the blessing of an old man can do you no harm.'—His coutenance inspired respect and awe. In one of the military prisons in London, an alarming riot took place, the infuriated prisoners, two hundred in number, broke loose, killed two of their keepers, and committed other excesses. Having obtained possession of the building, no one dared to approach them. Unarmed and alone Howard entered the prison, charmed the savage passions of the furious mutineers into submission, and they suffered themselves to be quietly conducted back to their cells. Cleanliness and temperance he was wont to say were his preservatives against contagious diseases. He ate no flesh, drank no wine or spirits, bathed in cold water daily—ate little, and that at fixed intervals—retired to bed early, and was an early riser. 'Trusting in Divine Providence,' he says, 'and believing myself in the way of my duty, I visit the most noxious cells, and while thus employed 'I fear no evil.''

Mr. Dixon is a practised writer, and despite a few blemishes, there are few who could have accomplished his task with greater satisfaction to those who are interested in prison reform. He has made prison discipline his study, and though an advocate of some of what are called 'benevolent crotches' of the day, the results of his researches are valuable to all. The chief defect of the work is an appearance in certain portions of affectation and egotism,—a straining to make mountains out of molehills. All, however, who revere the memory of Howard, should either read or become possessed of the volume, for valuable as is Dr. Aikin's sketch, it is incomplete, and affords but scanty information on many important points.—The remainder of our space we devote to extracts:

MARSHALSEA PRISON AT THE BIRTH OF HOWARD.

"In the Marshalsea, debtors and pirates were confined; the former generally of the poorer classes,—many of them common sailors. The goal was under the charge of the Deputy-marshal of the Marshalsea of the King's household—an officer, who, in defiance of the express prohibition of the deed constituting him governor, farmed out the fees, victualling and lodgings of his prisoners to various parties, from whom he received ample considerations. Thus the corruption began at the very source. The inferior officers were only too ready to follow the example set before them. When a person was sent in and his commitment might be for a debt of a single shilling increased to forty by legal expenses—he had first of all to pay garnish, in the shape of a bowl of punch for his companions. If, as was often the case, the new comer had no money wherewith to buy his freedom of the goal, he was stripped, in a riotous and disgraceful manner, of the greater part of his scanty clothes, which were sold or pledged to pay for the bumper. Next, he had to make his selection of a side of the goal—namely the master's side, where he would have to pay the most exorbitant prices for his bedding, food and drink; or the common side, where he would have to fare as he could, on the occasional and utterly inadequate supplies of such charity as the cupidity of the officials might suffer to be applied to their legitimate purposes. Out the of persons confined on the master's side the profits of the establishment were chiefly made: but it is not to be supposed that they were well treated on that account. On the contrary, the fact of their being able to pay for accommodation pointed them out to the wardens as the best subjects for the exercise of their peculiar arts. Means the most barbarous and illegal were used to extort money from them, or their friends.

"As for the miserable wretches who were unable to buy the mercy of their keepers, no words can paint the terrible condition to which they were reduced more forcibly than the simple and matter-of-course language of the parliamentary report:—'The common side,' it explains, 'is enclosed with a strong brick wall; in it are now confined upwards of 330 prisoners, most of them in the futmost necessity; they are divided into particular rooms called wards, and the prisoners belonging to each ward are locked up in their respective wards every night, most of which are excessively crowded, thirty, forty, nay fifty persons having been locked up in some of them, not sixteen feet square; and at the same time that these rooms have been so crowded, to the great endangering the health of the prisoners, the largest room on the common-side hath been kept empty, and the room over *George's ward* was let out to a tailor to work in, and nobody allowed to lie in it, though all the last year there were sometimes forty, and never less than thirty-two persons locked up in *George's ward* every night, which is a room of sixteen by fourteen feet, and about eight feet high; the surface of the room is not sufficient to contain that number when laid down, so that one-half are hung up in hammocks, while the other lie on the floor under them; the air is so wasted by the number of persons who breathe in that narrow compass, that it is not sufficient to keep them from stifling, several have in the heat of summer perished for want of air.' The more offensive part of this account is omitted, but it may be seen entire in the State Papers. Truly the reformer was much needed here!

"Next follows an example of the infliction of the *question* which Blackstone says is utterly unknown to the laws of England:—'In the year 1726, Thomas Bliss, a carpenter, not having any friends to support him, was almost starved to death in the prison, upon which he attempted to get over the prison by a rope lent to him by another prisoner. In the attempt, he was taken by the keepers, dragged by the heels into the lodge, barbarously beaten and put into irons, in which he was kept several weeks.—One afternoon, as he was standing quietly in the yard with his irons on, some of the said Acton's men [Acton was a butcher and lessee of the prison] called him into the lodge, where Acton was then drinking and merry with company. In about half-an-hour Bliss came out again, crying, and gave an account,—That when he was in the lodge, they, for their diversion, (as they called it,) fixed on his head an iron engine or instrument, (which appears to be an iron skull-cap,) which was screwed so close, that it forced the blood out of his ears and nose. And he further declared,—That his thumbs were at the same time put in a pair of thumb-screws, which were screwed so tight that the blood started out of them; and from that time he continued disordered until the day of his death. He was let out of prison without paying his debt, and at his going out Acton desired,—That all that was past might be forgot, and that he would not bear him any ill-will.—This miserable wretch was put into St. Thomas's Hospital for help—but died very soon.' What succeeds is still more horrible:—'The various tortures and cruelties before mentioned not contenting these wicked keepers in their pretended magistracy over the prisoners, they found a way of making within this prison a confinement more dreadful than the strong-room itself by coupling the living with the dead; and have made a practice of locking up debtors who displeased them in the yard with human carcases. One particular instance of this sort of inhumanity was of a person whom the keepers confined in that part of the lower yard which was then separated from the rest, whilst there were there two dead bodies which had lain there for days; yet was he kept there with them six days longer, in which time the vermin devoured the flesh from their faces, eat the eyes out of the heads of the carcases, which were bloated, putrified, and turned green during the poor debtor's dismal confinement with them!"

AN "EPISCOPAL" PRISON.

"Four days after this visit to the Marshalsea in London, we find the modern Heracles inspecting the High Gaol at Durham. The labors of that renowned hero were mere pastimes to those of Howard.—The earnest spirit of enterprise which urged him on—contrasting the magnitude of the work with the brief space of time in which it must be done, if done by him—caused a rapidity in his movements which tends not a little to baffle the follower of his footsteps. His account of the condition of this gaol is terrible beyond the power of language to deepen:—'The debtors have no court; their free wards in the Low Gaol are two damp, unhealthy rooms, 10 feet 4 inches square. They are never suffered to go out of these, unless to chapel, and not always to that: for on a Sunday when I was there I missed them at chapel; they told me they were not permitted to go thither. No sewers. At more than one of my visits I learned that the dirt, ashes, &c., had lain there many months . . . . The felons have no court; but they have a day-room and two small rooms for an infirmary. The men are put at night into dungeons; one 7 feet square for three prisoners; another, the great hole, 16 1-2 feet by 12, has only a little window. In this I saw six prisoners, most of them transports, chained to the floor. In that situation they had been many weeks, and were very sickly. Their straw on the stone floor almost worn to dust! Long confinement, and not having the King's allowance of 2s 6d. a week, had urged them to attempt an escape, after which the gaoler chained them as above. . . . . Common-side debtors, in the Low Gaol, whom I saw eating boiled bread and water, told me that this was the only nourishment some had lived upon for nearly twelve months. . . . . At several of my visits there were boys between thirteen and fifteen years of age confined with the most profligate and abandoned.' Yet this was an episcopal prison, the property of the Bishop of Durham, and boasted a regular chaplaincy!"

HOWARD'S VISIT TO A MONASTERY.

"While making a short stay at Prague to visit the prisons and hospitals, he was induced to make a call at the principal monastery of the order of Capuchines in that ancient city. A very curious observer of men, Howard liked to see the effects of various kinds of dicipline upon the mind and character: and in this instance he was perhaps attracted by the ascetic reputation of this order of friars. It was a fast-day when he made his visit; but judge of his surprise and indignation when, on entering the great hall, he saw the holy fathers seated at dinner round a table sumptuously furnished with the most delicate and costly viands which the season and country could furnish! Being known to some of the principal personages present, he was politely invited to sit down and partake of the feast. Had it been a palace instead of a monastery, he would have refused, it being contrary to his usual habits to indulge in such dainty food; but to see such costly extravagance in a religious house, was more than his severe sense of fitness could quietly brook. He, therefore, not only declined their proffered hospitalities, but turning to the elder monks, read them a pretty sharp lecture on the subject; telling them he had been led to suppose that they had retired from the world in order to live a life of abstemiousness and prayer; instead of which he found they had turned their dwelling into a house of revelry and drunkenness. The jolly fathers, whatever they may have thought of their heretical reprover, deemed it politic to appear alarmed at the tone which he had taken, especially when he told them he was going to Rome, where he would see His Holiness, their master, and could ascertain if such loose discipline met with his approval. This threat went home. Next morning, four or five of the penitent fathers waited upon him at his hotel, to beg his pardon for the offence which he had witnessed, and to implore his silence on the subject at head quarters. Howard answered that he would make no promise; on the contrary, he would be guided entirely by circumstances. He would take the necessary means to be well informed as to whether the offence were repeated or not, and would be governed by the result. If it were not repeated, he would use his own discretion as to what course he should take; if it were, they might be certain that he would do as he had said. With this, after giving a solemn promise that such disorderly violations of their rules should not again be permitted, the deputation withdrew."

HOWARD IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

"On his arrival Sir Robert Ainslie, our ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, kindly offered his distinguished countryman a home at his palace; but, knowing the many serious perils which he had come to encounter—perils which he had refused even his favorite servant to share with him—he felt that he had no right to subject the lives of others to the risks which he himself was willing to run for the attainment of his object, and therefore firmly declined to avail himself of the offered courtesy. On many accounts, he thought it desirable to take up his abode in the house of a physician—a man of courage, and of some experience of the pest, to whom he could communicate the general nature of his daily explorations—at once to put him on his guard, and to prepare him to act promptly in case of any fatal contingency arising. On commencing his visits, however the scenes of horror which he witnessed, and the awful dangers into which he ran still compelled him to keep the more perilous of his visits secret. For himself, he seemed as if conscious that he bore a charmed life. He sometimes saw the smitten fall at his side. He penetrated into pest-houses and infected caravansaries whither physician, guide, and dragomen alike refused to follow. From these fearful visits he returned with that scorching pain across the temples, which he had first experienced in the Lazaretto of Malta—though an hour's fresh air and exercise invariably carried it away.

"At the commencement of his sojourn in the Turkish capital, an incident had occurred, which not only added vastly to his medical fame, but greatly facilitated his researches in the city. The favorite daughter of a powerful Mussulman, high in rank and office about the court, had been seized with a dangerous illness which baffled the skill of all the celebrities in the healing art at Constantinople; and the father was vainly struggling to reconcile himself to her loss, when he heard of the wonderful cures performed by the Frankish physician. Howard was immediately implored to come and see the great man's daughter. He went, and, seeing at once that her malady was not so desperate as to defy the science of the West, prescribed some medicines which gave her instant relief—the crisis of her malady passed over—and she soon afterwards recovered. The grave old Turk could set no bounds to his gratitude. He pressed upon the savior of his child a purse containing 2,000 sequins—about £900—which was, of course, absolutely refused. Howard told him he never took money for his services—but would not object to receive a handful of grapes from his sumptuous garden. The fee solicited astonished the Turk not less than the skill exhibited; he evidently could not comprehend it; but with a pious ejaculation commanded his servants to furnish the Frank with a supply of the choicest fruits so long as he should sojourn in that place. The incident, and the impunity with which he visited the plague-stricken, served to invest the simple character of our countryman with an air of mystery and interest. No human motive for his acts could be imagined by a race, which from a sentiment of fatalism abandoned their infected fellow-mortals to their fate without help or counsel, while they regarded as sacred the ravenous dogs of the capital, and close to the splendid Mosque of Saint Sophia supported a large asylum for cats!"

HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II. AT VIENNA.

"On being introduced, Howard was requested to step into an inner cabinet, in which was neither chair or stool. The Emperor immediately followed him. Both were compelled to stand the whole of the time—two hours—which their interview lasted; and this was done in order that the Philanthropist might not be forced to feel that a subject was not permitted to sit in the imperial presence.

"His Majesty opened the conversation, after some preliminary small-talk, by asking his visitor's opinion of his new Military Hospital. Before he replied to this question, Howard desired to know whether he might speak freely what he thought, and on that assurance being given, went on to say; 'Then I must take the liberty of saying, that your Majesty's Military Hospital is loaded with defects. The allowance of bread is too small; the apartments are not kept clean, and they are in many respects ill constructed. One defect particularly struck me; the care of the sick is committed to *men*, and men who are very unfit for their office, especially, when it is imposed upon them as a punishment, as I understand the case to be here.' Joseph observed that the allowance of bread in the hospital was the same as to every other soldier—a pound a day. To which Howard replied, that a pound a day was not sufficient for a man who was expected to work, or was recovering from sickness, being hardly adequate to the support of life. They next spoke of the great Hospital of Vienna, and afterwards of the Lunatic Asylum; the defects of both of which establishments the Philanthropist pointed out very copiously and freely, going into various details, for which he had carried his notes with him. On these points he spoke so strongly and plainly, that when his Majesty directed the conversation to the subject of his prisons, his fearless monitor paused for a moment, as if to indicate that what he had to say thereon might prove still less palatable. Comprehending the sign, the Emperor pressed his hand cordially, and desired him to go on, and speak without fear. 'I saw in them,' resumed the Friend of the Prisoner, 'many things that filled me with astonishment and grief. They have all dungeons. The torture is said to have been abolished in your Majesty's dominions; but it is only so in appearance, for what is now practised is in reality worse than any other torture. Poor wretches are confined twenty feet below the ground, in places just fitted to receive their dead bodies, and some of them are kept there for eighteen months. Others are in dungeons, chained so closely to the walls that can hardly breathe. All of them are deprived of proper consolation and religious support—' Here the Emperor, annoyed at this severe censorship on his darling institutions, abruptly exclaimed: 'Why, Sir! in your country they *hang* men for the slightest offence!' 'I grant,' said Howard turning aside from his argument for a moment, to notice this explosion—'I grant that the multiplicity of her punishments is a disgrace to England; but as one fault does not excuse another, so neither in this case is the parallel just; for I declare that I would rather be hanged, if it were possible, ten times over, then undergo such a continuance of punishment as the unhappy beings endure who have the misfortune to be confined in your Majesty's prisons." The Emperor accepted the rebuke, and remained silent, while our countryman resumed his observations at the point where they had been interrupted. 'Many of these men,' he said, 'have not yet been brought to trial, and should they be found innocent of the crimes laid to their charge, it is out of your Majesty's power to make them a reparation for the injuries you have done them; for it is now to late to do them justice, weakened in health and deranged in their faculties as they are by their long confinement.' Joseph admired the honesty and fearlessness of these remarks, even where he could not bring himself to admit their justice. He then asked his visitor's opinion of his working-houses. 'In them too,' was the spirited answer, 'there are many defects. In the first place, the people are compelled to lie in their clothes a practice which in the end never fails to produce distempers; secondly, little or no attention is paid to cleanliness; and thirdly, the allowance of bread is too small.' 'Where,' asked his Imperial Majesty, with an air of conscious triumph, knowing the miserable state of all such institutions at that time existing in Europe,—'where did you ever see better institutions of the kind?' 'There *was* one better,' said Howard, significantly, and the thrust went directly home—'There was one better at Ghent: but not so now! not so now!' The Emperor winced sensibly, as well he might; but his stern monitor had not come thither to flatter his vainglory, already too vast for his soul's good, but to lay before him the naked truth—perhaps for the first time in his life—and to speak to him of his doings with the judicial impartiality of history. It is but seldom that words like these are addressed to kings; still less frequently are they listened to and understood. At parting, the Emperor of Germany pressed the hand of the English gentleman with much cordiality, and thanked him repeatedly for his visit and his counsels. The next day he told Sir Robert Keith that his countryman was not much given to ceremony or compliment, but that he liked him the better for that, and was much pleased with their interview; adding, that in some particulars he should certainly follow his advice, in others he should not."—*London Inquirer.*

LUTHER'S CHILDREN.—There were six children of this marriage; and it is at once touching and amusing to see with what adroitnes Luther contrived to gratify at once his tenderness as a father, and his taste as a theologian and a reformer.—When the brightening eye of one of the urchins round his table confessed the allurements of a downy peach, it was 'the image of a soul rejoicing in hope.' Over an infant pressed to his mother's bosom, thus moralised the severe but affectionate Reformer: 'That babe and everything else which belongs to us is hated by the Pope, by Duke George by their adherents, and by all the devils. Yet, dear little fellow, he troubles himself not a whit for all these powerful enemies; he gaily sucks the breast, looks round him with a loud laugh, and lets them storm as they like.' There were darker seasons, when even theology and polemics gave way to the more powerful voice of nature; nor indeed, has the deepest wisdom anything to add to the lamentation over the bier of his daughter Magdalene. 'Such is the power of the natural affection, that I cannot endure it without tears and groans, or rather an utter deadness of heart. At the bottom of my soul are engraven her looks, her words, her gestures, as I gazed at her in her lifetime on her death-bed. My dutiful, my gentle daughter! Even the death of Christ (and what are deaths compared to his?) cannot tear me from this thought as it should. She was playful, lovely and full of love.'—*Sir James Stephens.*

A WOMAN'S PLEA FOR MERCY.

"THE CONDEMNED PRISONER CHARLOTTE HARRIS.—Some charitably disposed inhabitants of Taunton recently memorialised the Home Secretary to spare the life of this convict, condemned for poisoning her husband, and now awaiting her accouchment, previous to the sentence of the law being carried into effect. SIR GEORGE GREY has officially announced his regret that the case presents no grounds that warrant his inteference with the due course of law. The prisoner is expected to be confined every day, and as soon after as possible the extreme penalty of the law will, it is stated, be carried into effect."—*Daily News.*

STILL keep the night-lamp burning.
I must have constant light:
Those horrors, else, returning,
Harrow mine inward sight:
The drop—the noose—each feature
Of that bad scene I see,
Where they bear forth yon creature,
From childbed to the tree.

Her pinioned arms deny her
Her infant's last embrace;
Since they may not untie her,
They lift it to her face.
And then—yes, I should banish
Such fancies overwrought,
But they refuse to vanish
Those spectres of my thought.

'Tis true if aught could smother
Pity, it were her crime;
But I shall be a mother
Too, in a little time.
To think if I were lying,
Foretasting every pang,
Counting each moment flying,
And, after all, to hang!

To feel each cordial proffered
My sinking frame to prop—
Was succour only offered
To save me for the drop!
Better at once to end me,
Than, like that hapless wretch,
To soothe sustain, and tend me,
And nurse me for JACK KETCH!

The law, with strange compassion,
Her unborn babe reveres,
Whose mind despair will fashion,
And agonising fears:
Preserved by mercies tender,
An idiot but to be;
Nay, what these thoughts may render
My own, disquiets me.

MOTHER and QUEEN, forget not
Pardon is in thine hand;
For woman's pity, let not
This hanging shame our land;
But cause the mob ferocious
The spectacle to miss,
Inhuman and atrocious,
Of butcher-work like this!—*Punch.*

From Eliza Cook's Journal.

GEORGE STEPHENSON.

THE life of George Stephenson will form a highly interesting chapter in some future edition of "The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties." No one of the numerous self-educated men whose histories are given in the pages of that fascinating book, had greater difficulties to encounter, or overcome those difficulties more triumphantly than he. George Stephenson had no advantages of birth or education; and he never cared to conceal from those whom he addressed, that he was only the son of a poor pitman, and was sent into the coal-pit to work for his bread before he had received a vestige of school education.

He was born at Wylam, a colliery village on Tyneside, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the year 1781, and he was only six or seven years of age when he was sent down the pit as a "trapper." No employment can be imagined less congenial with a boy's tastes than this. His duty is, to sit behind a trap-door, in the dark, for ten or twelve hours together, and hold open the door as the trains pass through. They pass, and he sits there solitary till the next wagons come up. He must be in the pit as soon as the work commences, in Winter before daylight, and, according to the old system, he could not leave the pit until the work of the day was at an end. Hence, the "trapper" rarely saw the light of day, except on a Sunday. In this solitary confinement, in the dark, were the early years of George Stephenson spent.

He was afterward a "picker" at Wylam, employed in picking out the slates from the coals, at a wage of 4s. or 5s. a week. He then went to Catlerton pit, where he got promoted to the post of driver of a "gin." While here, an engine was put on to pump the water out of the pit, and George, who had the character of being "a steady lad," and was now about seventeen years old, was appointed foreman, at a wage of 10s. a week. He behaved himself well, and, in due course, was advanced to the situation of an engineman. He was still quite illiterate, but sober and well-conducted. He was getting strong and able-bodied, too, and proved this by soundly pommeling, one day on the pit-heap, a quarrelsome fellow, considered "the terror of the neighborhood."

While at Callerton, he went a courting. He was now about 20 or 21, and resolved to marry. He set his affections at first rather high, upon a Miss Hindmarsh, the daughter of a respectable farmer of the neighborhood. But as George was as yet only a poor working man, he was not considered a suitable match, and his proposals were declined. He was, however, resolved to be married, and as the mistress would not have him, he offered himself to the servant, and was accepted. He married her; she proved a good wife; and Robert Stephenson, now M. P. was the issue of the union. Shortly after Robert's birth, she died, and, in a few years after, George again offered himself to Miss Hindmarsh, and this time he was accepted. This second marriage was a prosperous one, and the pair lived long and happily together.

George Stephenson left Callerton to go to Walbottle pit, as brakeman, attending the engine while drawing up the coals from the pit. While here, his wages were advanced to 12s. a week, on which event he declared, on coming out of the pay office, that he was "a made man for life." Thence he went to Willington ballast-crane, in the same capacity, and remained there for several years. When about 22 or 23, he began to learn to read, for he had already felt the disadvantages of his early want of elementary instruction, and, in his after years, he never omitted an opportunity of urging upon young men to avail themselves of the increasing facilities for such instruction offered by the mechanics' and other educational institutes throughout the country.

He left Willington for Killingworth, where he again acted as brakeman at an advanced wage. Here he made the greatest progress. He had always been a steady and advancing workman; but now he felt aspirations for higher things rising up within him. He was attentive, assiduous, and active-minded. Watching the engine as he did, he in time came to understand it thoroughly. He occasionally made several new adaptations of machinery in the working of the engine, in the pumps, pulleys, &c, so as to cause considerable saving to his employers, and to win for him their respect and esteem. The steam engine grew familiar to him; and he studied it, and his mind became awakened to the contemplation of its powers, its weaknesses, and its capabilities. It is well observed by an able writer in the "Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal," that "there is something in the steam-engine which is a spell and a charm to the beholder, something more and something else than the love of a sailor for his ship; such as the weaver feels not at his loom, nor the smith before his anvil. The smith or the weaver is the maker, the hammer or the shuttle works as his hand lists; but the steam engine stands as with life and breath in it, working of itself, earnestly, steadily, and manfully, by day and by night, in its youth, and in its elder years, when scores of men who wrought with it have sickened and breathed their last. To the working man it is a thing of care and love, and its sight seems to give might to those who behold it, and to teach them the cunning which is its own make. Thus boys who watched strengthened it with cords and chains of iron: thus, a toy in the hands of Watt, it claimed his life for its care, and grew to unwonted growth; thus, time after time, have master and workman nursed its childhood, and helped it onward to its mightiest strength: and Stephenson had not been among the least of these."

We may here mention an interesting circumstance in Stephenson's career, while working as brakesman at Killingworth Pit. There were three brakemen, who took the "night-shift" by turns. The night-shift lasted for eight or ten hours; and as there was little work to be done during that time—only drawing up and letting down—the brakesman's time hung heavily on his hands. Stephenson, however, always regarded time as precious, and carefully turned every minute to account. During these night-shifts he took his first lessons in arithmetic. When he had worked his sums on a slate, he sent them off next morning to a schoolmaster in the neighborhood to correct, who in turn sent him new questions to answer. For this service the eager scholar paid his master the humble tribute of four-pence a week.—The rest of his time he occupied, during the night-shifts, in cleaning the pitmen's clocks and watches, for which he was paid. He also cut the pitmen's clothes out, and gave instructions in the art of "cutting out" to the pitmen's wives, usually not very handy at such sort of work; and it is said, that to this day, there are pitmen's wives at Killingworth, cutting out clothes according to the instructions then given them by George Stephenson. He also made shoes in these lone nights by the engine fire, and occasionally made presents of them to the poor relations of his wife, and their children. He turned his ready hand to anything. Among others of his works was a sun-dial, still fixed over the door of the house he lived in while at Killingworth; and to the last day of his life, he felt a pride at the sight of that sun dial. Not long before his death, while surveying the line of the Newcastle and Berwick Railway, he drove a professional friend somewhat out of his way to have an admiring look at the dial.

All the little money which Stephenson thus made by the cleaning of clocks and watches, and the making of shoes, he devoted to the education of his son Robert. He had felt the want of education in his own person, and set a high value upon it; accordingly he determined early to give his son the best culture he could afford. Robert was sent accordingly to Bruce's school, in Newcastle, where he received the rudiments of an excellent education. At a public dinner held in Newcastle, in his honor, not long before his death, Mr. Stephenson thus referred to this fact in his early career:—'I have worked as hard as any man in the world, and I have overcome obstacles which it falls to the lot of but few men to encounter. I have known the day, when my son was a child, that, after my daily labor was at an end, I have gone home to my single room, and cleaned clocks and watches, in order that I might be able to put my child to school. I had felt too acutely myself the loss of an education not to be fully sensible of how much advantage one would be to him." This we must always regard as a beautiful feature in Stephenson's character: and it is gratifying to state, that the future reputation and well-won honors of the son, amply repaid the early care and self-denial of the father.

About the year 1800, when he worked at Killingworth, distress was abroad in the land, and much suffering was experienced by the colliery population in the neighborhood. This was the time of the long-remembered "dear years," when bread was scarcely to be had at any price. So straitened was Stephenson, and so down-hearted with the prospects of the times that he made up his mind to emigrate to the United States with one of his fellow-workmen, where they intended to try their hands at mechanics and farming; but his heart was bound to his kindred, and he could not tear himself from home. A happy incident detained him, and opened the road to fortune. He had, every morning, in going to his work, to pass a newly-sunk pit, whence the workmen were day after day fruitlessly endeavoring to draw the water. In one of his walks he stopped to to look on, and could not help observing that if they would let him try, he would "soon set them to the bottom." Though the remark was laughed at, the workmen were too glad of help, come from what quarter it might, and he was allowed to try his skill. In a very short time his efforts succeeded, and the shaft was cleared of water. The circumstance gave him a name, and he proved equally successful in the cure of other pumps which would not draw. He became a skilful pump-curer. He now also understood the steam engines so well that he made several improvements in its working, and its adaptation to pit machinery. His prospects began to look brighter; he was called in to do the work of an engineer; putting up steam-engines under ground, laying down tram or wagon-ways, similar work of an engineer; and, as his earnings steadily increased, emigration was no longer thought of.

Years passed by, and George Stephenson became a prosperous man. His manly and upright character, and his devoted attention to his calling, gained him many and powerful friends. He earned the esteem and confidence of all with whom he came in contact. He was straightforward and open-hearted; hard-working, and a zealous self-cultivator; always observant, always improving, always advancing.—Among the most interesting of all subjects for contemplation and study, by a scrutinizing mind such as Stephenson's, was that new and wonderous machine, as yet in its infancy, the locomotive and its adaptation to the iron roads now laid down in many parts, but especially in the county of Durham. Steam had already become a great industrial power in England, and was doing the work of hundreds of thousands of horses. It had revolutionized the whole domain of human industry. It was driving mills and machinery, rolling iron, spinning cotton, grinding corn, and impelling ships through the waters. But the invention of the locomotive, which was to bring cities together, nearly annihilate space, and confer on man as much new power and enjoyment as if he were endowed with wings—this great invention was yet but in its infancy; the locomotive was a rude and clumsy machine, more of a curiosity than an efficient motive power, when George Stephenson directed all the powers of his strong mind to its study, and in a few years brought it to the perfection it has now attained.

Various experiments had been made with steam as a motive power on tram-roads or railways and numerous patents had been taken out for inventions of this kind, prior to 1814, when George Stephenson built his first locomotive. As early as 1804, Trevithick's engines were running on the Merthyr Tydvil Railway, in South Wales; and one of the same engines was, many years after, sent down to Wylam colliery, where Stephenson first saw it. He could not fail to be struck by the sight, and his active mind at once set to work as to the means of improving the machine, for it was yet very imperfect and inefficient. He soon commenced building a locomotive, and was supplied with the requisite money by Sir Thomas Liddell (now Lord Ravensworth) and the other partners in the Killingworth Colliery who had every confidence in his skill. In this engine he first adopted his great improvement of double cylinders, Trevithick's being only a single cylinder engine, and therefore very irregular in its action. The new engine succeeded admirably and by the aid of powerful friends, he was shortly after enabled to take out a patent for it. The next year he erected his second engine, with further improvements, which we need not here stop to detail. He was also engaged as a coal-viewer and as an engineer in laying out railways. His hands were full, and his prospects bright. His son had by this time, after receiving an excellent education completed at the University of Edinburgh, joined him as under-viewer and assistant-engineer. He was also engaged with other projects, amongst the most important of which was the invention of the safety-lamp.

Although Sir Humphrey Davy is the reputed author of this valuable invention, there seems sufficient reason to believe that George Stephenson is entitled to the claim of priority of discovery. Doubtless, as in several other inventions, many leading minds were at the same period engaged upon the subject, and were alike hovering on the brink of the discovery. There is no doubt, however, that Stephenson had long been experimenting with his lamps at Killingworth, before Sir Humphrey Davy's discovery was made public, and that he had ordered his first lamp and tried it in the colliery, before any of the other claimants to the discovery had brought theirs to the test of actual experiment. His townsmen of Newcastle have always strongly supported Stephenson's claims; and in January, 1818, they testified their conviction of his merits, by publicly entertaining him in the Assembly-rooms at Newcastle, and presenting him with a silver tankard, together with one thousand guineas, being their testimonial to him as "the discoverer of the safety-lamp."

Railways gradually began to attract the attention of advanced minds, and the Engineer, James, was projecting the great lines of railway between London and Liverpool. Nearer home, in the county of Durham, Stephenson was at work, on the Stockton and Darlington Railway, of which he was appointed Engineer. The works were commenced in 1822, and this was one of the first railways in England worked with the new locomotives, though it was, at first, merely a coal railway. Stephenson now commenced a locomotive workshop in Newcastle, which afterward expanded into the gigantic establishment we now find it. He was also still studying and improving himself; he had never done inventing and contriving improvements of his locomotives. Hence he was enabled to keep ahead of all competitors; one proof of which was, that his engine, the *Rocket*, carried off the £500 prize, on the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, of which also he was Engineer. We need scarcely proceed with the history of his progress further. He was carried on the full tide of railway prosperity, and contributed, in no small degree, to the development of this great civilizing power. He also derived for himself the personal advantage of heavy gains, which, at length, accumulated to a large fortune.

Stephenson was not the creator of railways, nor was he the inventor of the locomotive; he was an energetic hard-working man, full of the best practical qualities, and, by directing his mind to the subject of steam locomotion, he was enabled to effect improvements of the most valuable kind in the construction of the locomotive, and thus to impart a stimulus of no ordinary character to the industrial energies and capabilities of his country.

George Stephenson died at his seat at Tapton, Derbyshire, in August, 1848, in his 67th year. In conclusion, we may quote the words which he himself used on the occasion of a recent public dinner at Newcastle: "I may say," "he observed, "without being deemed egotistical, that I have mixed with a greater variety of society than, perhaps, any man living. I have dined in mines, for I was once a miner; and I have dined with Kings and Queens, and with all grades of the nobility, and have seen enough to inspire me with the hope, that my exertions have not been without their beneficial results—that my labor has not been in vain."

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

BINDING ON AUSTRIA.—Falconbridge, in "King John," recommends Austria to "hang a calf skin on those recreant limbs." At the present day he could hardly have recommended such a binding in calf, seeing that Austria is already bound in Russia.—*Punch.*

"At a fashionable watering place near Carlisle," says the *Gateshead Observer*, "an enamoured chambermaid, who had fallen in love with a fellow-servant, laid hold of him one fine morning, and broke out in o song:—

'As winds the ivy round the tree,
As to the crag the moss patch roots,
So clings my constant soul to thee
My own! my beautiful!! my boots!!!'"

At a Welsh meeting in London to memorialize the Queen to appoint a Welshman to the see of Llandaff, Mr W. Jones, of Greenwich, mentioned that an English clergyman, endeavoring to preach in Welsh, had to repeat the words, "Daear a gwybren hefyd," signifying "the earth and the heavens;" but, through not being able to pronounce properly, he said: "Dwy iar ag wy bran hefyd," signifying "two hens and also a crow's egg"—*London News.*

The *Assemblée Nationale*, under the title of "New Phases in the Life of Lola Montes," says:—"A private letter from Tortosa (Catalonia) informs us that the Lola Montes has had a warm discussion with her young husband, which ended in the Countess of Landsfeldt stabbing Mr. Heald with a dagger. Mr. Heald, not at all satisfied with so pointed a mark of affection, quitted his wife, who now remains in a hotel at Tortosa, destitute of all resources, and has been obliged to apply to the British Consul."

The Rev. G. Gilfillaun says (in the *Edinburgh News*) of De Quincey: "Such a combination of strength and weakness, such a consumpt of laudanum and learning, was never exhibited since the world began. Unfortunate, erring, yet amiable and most gifted man, we cry shame upon Government for not pensioning the old age of a life amid all whose aberrations the love for letters and the power of genius have never been lost!"

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN'S EXPEDITION.—A letter from St. Marie River, dated Sept. 24, announces the arrival, on his way to England, of Sir J. Richardson, from an unsuccessful search after Sir J. Franklin's exped